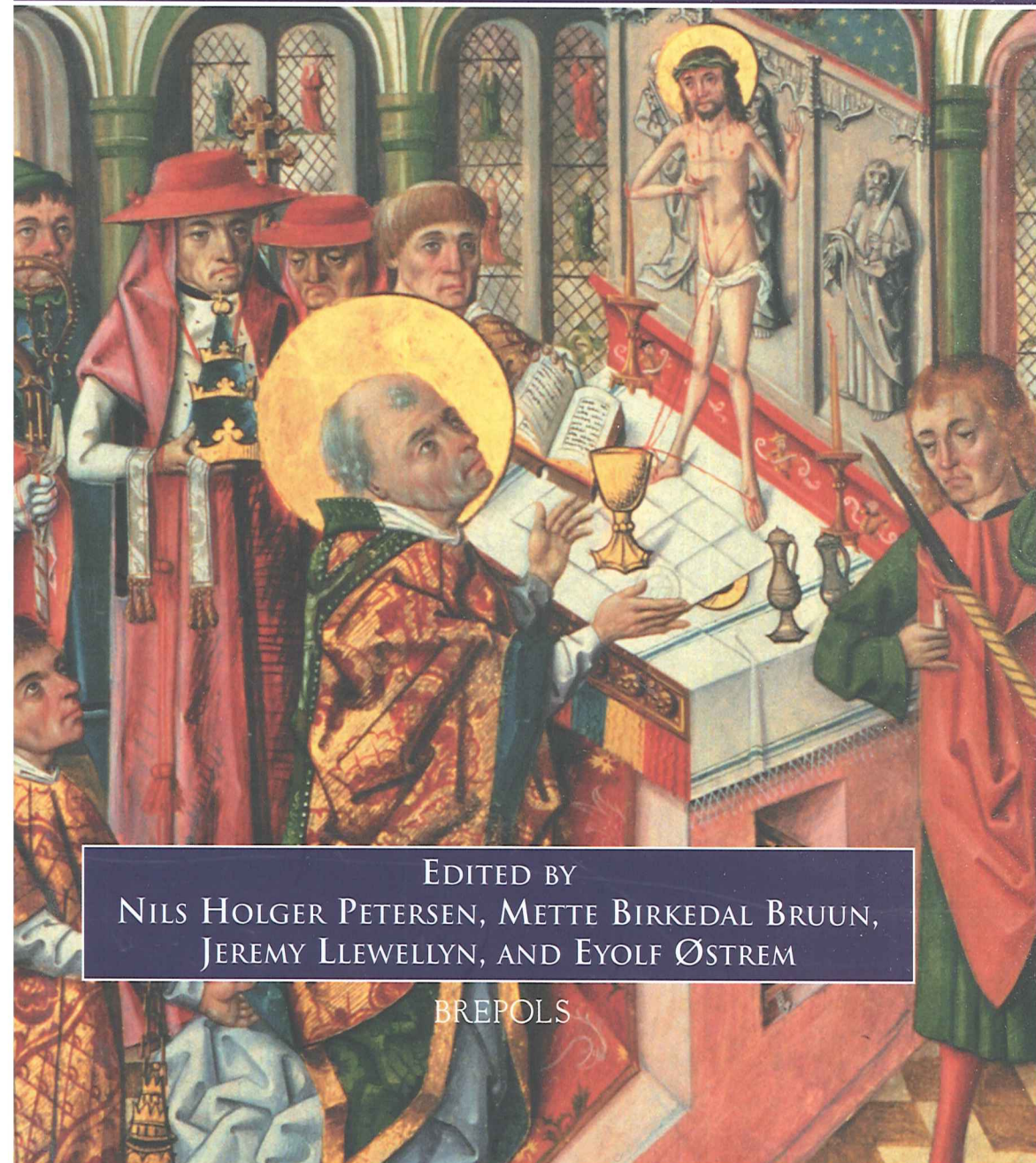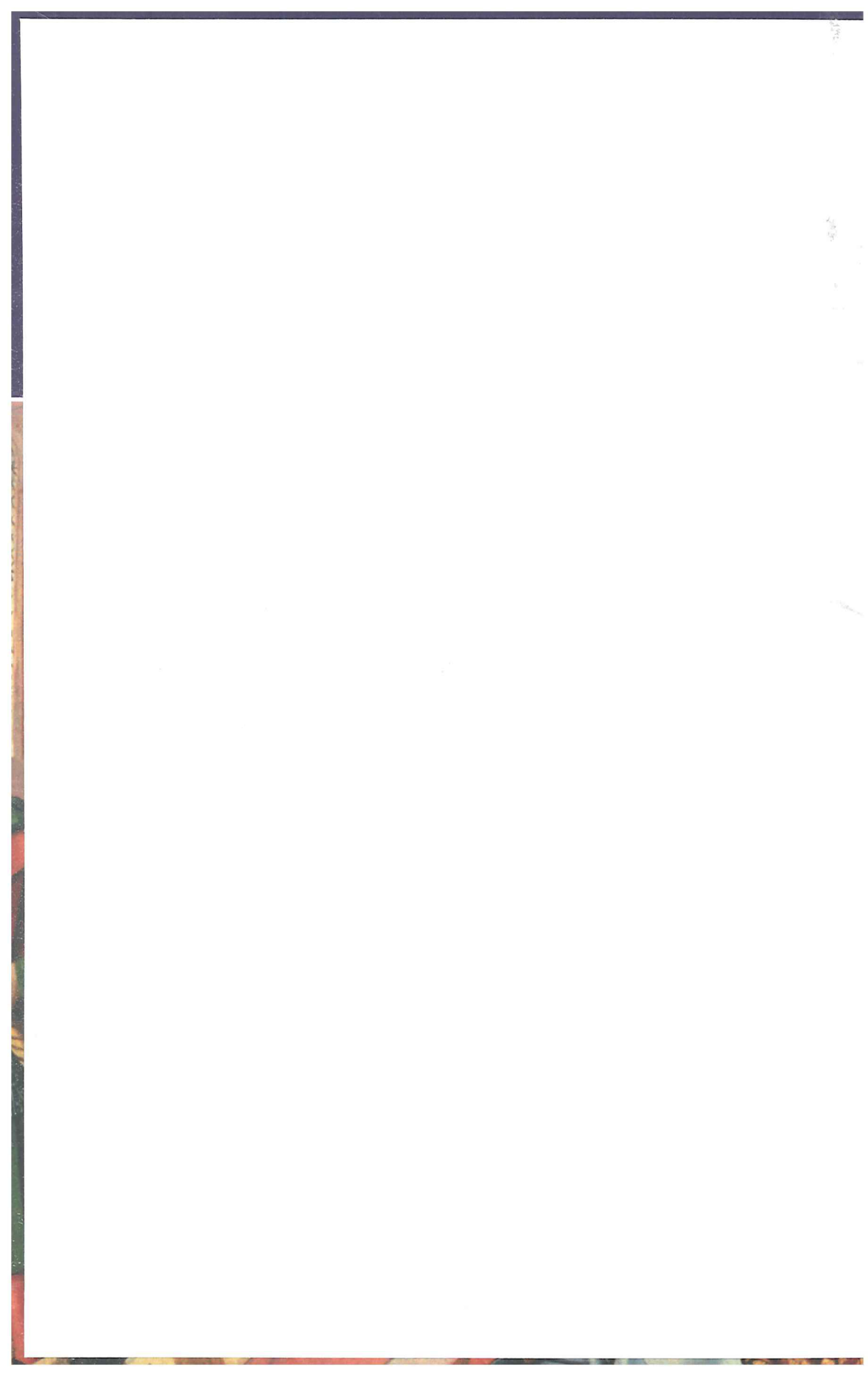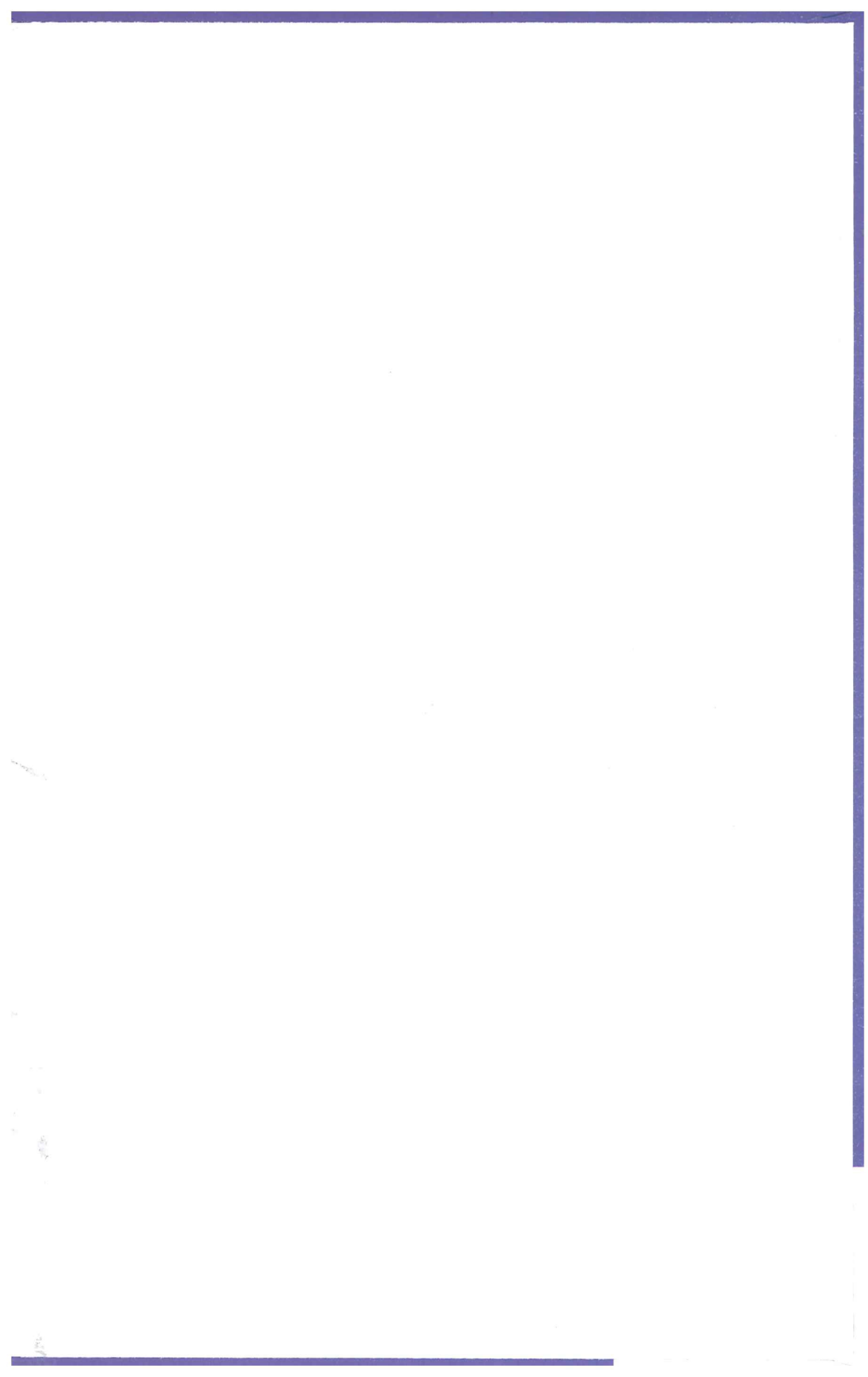# THE APPEARANCES OF MEDIEVAL RITUALS

THE PLAY OF CONSTRUCTION AND MODIFICATION

EDITED BY
NILS HOLGER PETERSEN, METTE BIRKEDAL BRUUN,
JEREMY LLEWELLYN, AND EYOLF ØSTREM

BREPOLS

DISPUTATIO

The book series *Disputatio* continues the tradition, established by the predecessor journal of the same name, of publishing interdisciplinary scholarship on the intellectual culture and intellectual history of the European Middle Ages. The medieval focus is construed broadly to encompass a chronology ranging from the end of the classical Roman age to the rise of the modern world. *Disputatio* seeks to promote scholarly dialogue among the various disciplines that study medieval texts and ideas and their diffusion and reception.

THE APPEARANCES OF MEDIEVAL RITUALS
THE PLAY OF CONSTRUCTION AND MODIFICATION

Appearances can be deceptive; and medieval ritual practices are in this respect no exception. They perform stability through the codification of repetitive modes of behaviour and simultaneously admit flexibility in their integration of newer forms of representation. They mask the historical contingencies of their own creation and construct alternative narratives of authority and continuity. They do not simply appear; their appearance reflects the mutual interplay of construction and modification.

This collection of eleven essays-which chronologically spans the period from the Carolingians to the Catholic Reform movement of the later sixteenth century-explores this double-edged potential in the appearance of medieval ritual practices; and, in this case, chiefly church rituals. It comprises a series of individual studies by scholars of literature, theology, music, and the visual arts. Each study examines a particular moment of change or transformation in ritual practices, illuminating, thereby, processes of ritualization. In this way, the book both provides an impulse to the recent renewal of methodological interest in ritual studies and presents individual contributions to specific scholarly discourses within this broad area.

Cover illustration: The Mass of St Gregory, by Bernt Notke (d. 1509)
Detail from the altar in Aarhus Cathedral, Denmark
Photograph by Torben Nielsen, 2004

THE APPEARANCES OF MEDIEVAL RITUALS

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THE APPEARANCES OF MEDIEVAL RITUALS

The Play of Construction and Modification

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Acknowledgements

The majority of articles in the present volume are reworked versions of papers presented at the first international conference of the Centre for the Study of the Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals at the University of Copenhagen in December 2002. As a result of preparatory work and fruitful discussions at the conference itself, it was decided to publish a collection of essays by scholars from the Centre and from other universities and institutions, reflecting the medieval part of the research project at the Copenhagen Centre.

We gratefully acknowledge the generous support of the Danish National Research Foundation in establishing the Centre in collaboration with the Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen. The support which the Centre received has also made the conference and the scholarly collaborations possible, without which this book could never have been published.

It has been a privilege to have had such understanding and efficient editorial support from the editors of the *disputatio* series at Brepols Publishers, and at all levels of the process. It has also been a pleasure to collaborate with the authors and we are grateful for their cooperative zeal and willingness to consider their own fields of research within the overall framework of the Centre project.

The process towards this volume has also been extremely fruitful for the Centre project in general, not least in connection with the formulation of methodological presuppositions, and we are grateful for the opportunity to make this available to a larger public.

Abbreviations

AH   *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi*, ed. by Guido Maria Dreves (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland), 1886–1922; repr. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1961–78)

CCCM   Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaeualis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–)

CCSL   Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–)

MGH Poetae   *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others, 4 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881–1923).

MMMA   *Monumenta monodica medii aevi* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956–).

PG   *Patrologiae Cursus Completus,* Series Graeca, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 161 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1857–66)

PL   *Patrologiae Cursus Completus,* Series Latina, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1844–64)

SBO   *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. by J. Leclercq, H.-M. Rochais, and C. H. Talbot, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77)

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Cultic Vision—or Seeing as Ritual: Visual and Liturgical Experience in the Early Christian and Medieval Church
HANS HENRIK LOHFERT JØRGENSEN

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Introduction

NILS HOLGER PETERSEN, METTE BIRKEDAL BRUUN,
JEREMY LLEWELLYN, AND EYOLF ØSTREM

This collection of essays explores the double-edged potential in the appearances of medieval ritual practices. Ten individual studies by scholars of literature, music, the visual arts, and theology address questions concerning religious or devotional rituals under transformation, chronologically spanning the period from the Carolingians of the eighth and ninth centuries to the Catholic Reform movement of the later sixteenth century. All the articles examine some kind of processual formation or modification of a specific ritual or ritual aspect, probing thereby moments of ritualization and resignification. Rituals generally appear to perform stability through the codification of repetitive and traditional modes of behaviour.[1] Through historical transformations, however, rituals admit flexibility in their integration of newer forms of representation. They often preserve a traditional ritual appearance by masking the historical contingencies of their own creation and constructing alternative narratives of authority and continuity.[2] In other words, the appearances of rituals reflect the mutual interplay of construction and modification in more than one way.

As the *performative turn* has come into its own within the field of cultural studies, there is good reason to re-address the question of medieval rituals.[3] Medieval church rituals of the Carolingian period clearly fit the above mentioned characteristics: the Carolingians appropriated Roman liturgy from the middle of the eighth century and

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[1] Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 145–53 (the sections on 'Traditionalism' and 'Invariance' of Ritual-like activities).

[2] Bell, *Ritual*, p. 224 (referring to Barbara Myerhoff).

[3] Concerning 'performativity' and its role in cultural studies recently, see Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetische Erfahrung: Das Semiotische und das Performative* (Tübingen: Francke, 2001), especially 'Einleitung: Zwischen "Text" und "Performance"', pp. 9–23.

especially during the reign of Charlemagne (768–814). The outcome of this included new creative constructions of public performative celebrations in terms of both ceremonial as well as sung practices. However, the Carolingians apparently also felt it necessary to mask this creative effort: they constructed the myth of a stable liturgy and chant instituted by Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), a myth which in spite of sporadic challenges held sway until it was finally deconstructed by liturgiologists and music historians in the course of the twentieth century. The performative religious rituals constructed by the Carolingians may be viewed historically as denoting a totality of cultural, religious, and social practices, impermeable to change and beyond the reach of a modern understanding.[4]

A creative production of liturgy continued during the following centuries: in the composition of tropes, sequences, and other poetico-musical compositions as well as in the continued efforts at extending the performativity—primarily that of monastic but also of public cathedral celebrations. Among the latter extensions one may mention new appropriations of processional traditions and the new types of devotional representational ceremonies, often referred to as 'dramatic liturgy'.[5] Both in literary history (Latin religious poetry, 'drama', and literary religious prose), art and architectural history (devotional images, and for instance the change from Romanesque to Gothic styles), and music history (the rise of musical polyphony), aspects of ritual practices from the Middle Ages and Early Modern era have been

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[4] The literature on the construction of Carolingian (and later medieval) liturgy and chant is vast. Among this, we refer to Angelus A. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 58 (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1973); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, translated and revised by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington DC: The Pastoral Press, 1986); and Susan Rankin, 'Carolingian Music', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 274–316. See also (concerning aspects of the deconstruction of the mythic status of Gregory the Great) James W. McKinnon, 'Antoine Chavasse and the dating of early chant', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 1 (1992), 123–47.

[5] Concerning tropes and sequences, see Wulf Arlt, 'Neue Formen des liturgischen Gesangs: Sequenz und Tropus', in *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Beiträge zum Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Mainz: Zabern, 1999), pp. 732–40, Gunilla Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges: poésie dans la messe médiévale, interprétations et commentaires* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2001); concerning 'representational ceremonies': Nils Holger Petersen, 'The Representational Liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia*', in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millenium*, ed. by Nigel Hiscock (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 107–17, and Michal Kobialka, *This Is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); concerning processions: Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971).

isolated as furnishing vital preconditions for a variety of developments within a European cultural heritage. Each topic in the chapters of this book has a place within such a historical construction: interpreting the idea of musical notation (Carolingian music in the eighth to ninth centuries); understanding changes in liturgical practice and theology between the ninth and twelfth centuries with a dual focus, Amalar of Metz and Honorius Augustodunensis; the resignification of forms of refrain between traditional and new songs around 1100; the reception of a Carolingian *versus* in eleventh-century Italy: how to understand the transition from a musico-literary intellectual (mainly monastic) discourse to a devotional, practical, and educational usage of that tradition; motion and architecture: features of paradise in medieval church buildings; *hagioscopy*: understanding the concept of ritual visually; literary spiritualizations of liturgical ceremonial in Bernard of Clairvaux's liturgical sermons; the possible role of certain manuscripts containing the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* in King Alfonso X's devotion to a statue of the Virgin Mary; and changes in late-medieval and sixteenth-century polyphony interpreted in the light of the contemporary reception of Aristotle.

In light of this diversity of ritual materials under examination, the book has been divided pragmatically into three main sections according to the media occupying the heart of each individual study or the disciplinary point of departure. The first section is concerned with medieval liturgy, theology, and various media. In 'Carolingian Music, Ritual, and Theology', Nils Holger Petersen focuses on the ritual and theological significance of song in Carolingian liturgy and the changes which were wrought in the ninth century by musical composition and the new technology of music-writing. The striving towards criteria for correct (authoritative) musical appearances of church ceremonies and the visually tangible representations of chants in early manuscripts from around 900 are seen as connected parts of a transition from rituals emphasizing congregational participation in never-ceasing angelic praises to ritual manifestations of institutionalized composition. In 'Roman Theatre and Roman Rite: Twelfth-Century Transformations in Allegory, Ritual, and the Idea of Theatre', Donnalee Dox interprets the difference between Amalar's allegorical interpretations of liturgy in the ninth century, which foregrounded individual details, and the analogy between ancient Greek theatre and the totality of mass liturgy found in *Gemma animae* (*c.* 1100) by Honorius Augustodunensis in the light of the development of a unified concept of the mass (connected to new departures in the theology of the Eucharist). Wim Verbaal, in 'Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons for the Liturgical Year', traces a basic liturgical tenor in Bernard's sermons. He demonstrates the care with which Bernard organized his sermons for the ecclesiastical year, arguing that this organization aims at a composite presentation of the Word incarnate in an elaborate literary exposition of the eucharistic claim, *Hoc est corpus meum*. The reading and contemplation of the sermonic depiction of Christ are associated with the reception of the Eucharist, thus pointing to a ritual situation appearing in a literary shape. Correspondingly, Mette Birkedal Bruun in 'Procession and Contemplation in Bernard of Clairvaux's First Sermon for Palm Sunday' gives a

reading of one such sermon for the ecclesiastical year focusing on the intricate relationship between the particular ceremony (the Palm Sunday Procession), for which the sermon was originally given, and the monk's progression towards the heavenly Jerusalem as it is emphasized in Bernard's spiritual interpretation of the ritual.

The second section considers the interaction of music and ritual from an essentially musicological perspective. In 'Ritual and Repetition: The Ambiguities of Refrains', Andreas Haug undertakes a penetrating survey of a broad array of refrain forms—both textual and musical—which appear in manuscript redactions of Latin poetic compositions from the eighth century onwards. These refrains are then submitted conceptually to examination under various pairs of oppositions: artificiality and functionality; the role of the individual and the collective; the higher or lower aesthetic estimation in which repetitious poetic elements were held; the 'real' and the 'virtual' refrain. The survey reveals the fluidity of such categories over time, especially with respect to the rise around 1100 of the 'New Song' in both Latin liturgical compositions and the earliest troubadour lyrics. Jeremy Llewellyn adopts an alternative approach in 'A Paulinus of Aquileia *versus* in Eleventh-century Italy': he deliberately focuses on a single poetical composition, penned in Latin by a leading light of the Carolingian *renovatio*, in one specific notated guise from two hundred years later. The appearance of this selfsame composition at such an historical remove in an uncharacteristically prominent position within an Italian mass book raises the question concerning the interrelationship of reception and ritualization. By analyzing parallel instances of the musical notating of similar verse forms in eleventh-century Italy, the musical projection of form in the particular poetic composition in question—and its possible ritual significance—is set in relief. Eyolf Østrem's 'Palestrina and Aristotle: Form in Renaissance Music' is concerned with the technology of musical polyphony with the aim to elucidate a particular aspect of the appearances of the mainstream office and mass liturgy. By way of musical analysis, Østrem examines the musical fabric of a motet by Palestrina within the context of the impact of Aristotelian reception from the mid-fifteenth century, and of the revised demands on ecclesiastical music after the Tridentine reforms. To a certain extent the development during the sixteenth century may be seen as a double tendency to reclaim polyphony under a stricter ecclesiastical jurisdiction and under the new rhetorical demands on the liturgy, including its music. Thus, what at a first glance appears as an analysis of developments within a particular musical style developing during the later sixteenth century, may also contribute to our understanding of the function of music in church ceremonies, as it was shaped by the general intellectual background of the time, as well as by demands concerning liturgical ceremonial.

The third section of the book contains three articles with visual representations as their points of departure. Jens Fleischer, in his 'Living Rocks and *locus amoenus*: Architectural Representations of Paradise in Early Christianity', focuses on paradisiacal features in church architecture. Fleischer examines the ways in which

paradisiacal motives such as foliage, trees, and the four rivers are reflected in columns and mosaics. He thereby shows how the architectural framework of liturgical life points not only, as is often noticed, to the heavenly city, but also to the primeval origination, thus aiming at establishing an *artificiosa memoria*. Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen's 'Cultic Vision—Seeing as Ritual: Visual and Liturgical Experience in the Early Christian and Medieval Church' argues that the church interior promoted a particular way of seeing—*hagioscopy* (seeing the Holy)—in the Latin West. Changes in the architectural organization of the interior space of a church enables Lohfert Jørgensen to trace changes in this 'cultic vision' during the Middle Ages, changes which are also reflected in religious imagery and in new ritual (and visual) practices such as the *elevatio* or the *expositio*.

Finally, in 'Alfonso's Miraculous Book: Patronage, Politics, and Performance in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', Kirstin Kennedy suggests how King Alfonso X may have used one particular collection of this famous Marian repertory for ritual healing purposes, by way of interpreting certain miniatures and texts preserved in contemporary manuscripts of similar collections. The focus, in other words, is on a conjectural ritual instrumentalization of a prized book which went beyond a purely functional use reflected in its literary contents. By extension, however, Kennedy's presentation throws light on the general and broadly well-known practice of invocations connected to the cult of saints as this was practised increasingly during the later Middle Ages (for instance in confraternities, but also individually), to which, of course, the *cantigas* in themselves bear witness. Kennedy's article points to features of the Royal devotion and the Marian cult at the Castilian court in the thirteenth century and to a special role of the *cantigas* which on a more general level make it clear that the idea that a representation of devotional songs could have an efficacious functional role in a religious healing ritual is not at odds with known contemporary representations of such rituals.

The Old Testament exegete André LaCocque and the theologian-philosopher Paul Ricœur have recently offered readings of fundamental passages of the Old Testament which combine historical-critical methods with hermeneutical insights of the reception school, emphasizing their open-ended use of the concept of a text. Among other things, the inclusion of the reception of a biblical text in the understanding of its nature is seen by the authors as a help to avoid the traditional theological problems connected to the idea of biblical autonomous canonicity or normativity:

> A hermeneutics that places the principal accent on the author's intention tends to claim a univocal status for the meaning of the text, if it is the case that what the author meant to say can in fact be reduced to a single intention. A hermeneutics that is attentive to the history of reception will be respectful of the irreducible plurivocity of the text.[6]

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[6] André LaCocque and Paul Ricœur, *Thinking Biblically: Exegetical and Hermeneutical Studies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), Preface, pp. xiv–xv. Cf. the

LaCocque and Ricœur also describe the circularity of the reception of foundational sacred texts by the faithful. These form a 'community of reading and interpretation'. Their fundamental beliefs at the same time constitute implicit presuppositions for their readings and are—in turn—reinforced by these. Of course, the process is even more complicated as beliefs are seldom completely stable but change so that the relation may sometimes be described as spiral rather than circular. Biblical texts will be interpreted differently by different communities in different times and places and readers adhering to longstanding traditions will to some extent and with smaller or larger adjustments rework earlier interpretations and traditions based on them into their current systems of belief and ways of interpreting the canonical corpus of texts. Finally, of course, communities structure their practices and teachings according to such received interpretations of their scriptures.[7]

All this is in agreement with general reception historical understanding to which, of course, Paul Ricœur has contributed much over the last decades. What has been stated here by Ricœur and LaCocque concerning the biblical canon may with some qualifications be carried over to the area of devotional practices in the medieval Latin Church. One obvious qualification regards the fact that there is no canonical corpus concerning devotional practices similar to that of the biblical texts. Neither the liturgy of the mass nor the office of the hours had achieved the same degree of official recognition and stability as the biblical canon at the time of the Carolingian appropriation of Roman liturgy. Nor did these practices ever achieve such a status during the Middle Ages.[8] Even so, it seems clear—as the seminal work not the least of Leo Treitler has brought to the fore—that around 1100 not only the words of the celebration of the mass, and structures and many textual parts of the office had achieved a rather fundamental stability, but certain 'canonical' musical repertories also seem to have reached an established form. Thus, although not as absolutely as in the case of the biblical canon, the music and the words of large parts of the mass and the office may be said to form a fundamental liturgical framework within which experimentation, re-interpretation and new developments could take place without threatening the stability of the fundamental basis of the annual, weekly, and daily church celebrations. To arrive at such a point was in itself a long and complicated process which we shall not discuss further here.[9]

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discussion in the introduction to *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and Their Representation in the Arts, 1000–2000*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Nicolas Bell, and Claus Clüver (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004) pp. 1–23.

[7] *Thinking Biblically*, pp. xvi–xvii.

[8] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 1–3.

[9] Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) must suffice at this point as an overall reference for the development of the music. Concerning the liturgy, see especially Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*.

Dioceses and the larger monasteries, and from *c.* 1100 new monastic groups, all organized by a principle of hierarchic authority, may be assumed to be 'communities of reading and interpretation' with respect to the arrangement of church celebrations. Decisions concerning changes, however, would often have been taken by competent cantors and theoreticians as well as by bishops and abbots. Many transformations must have been accepted by such authorities in order to have become possible at all. Changes in singing practices (for instance in the monastery of St Martial and in other institutions where the 'new song' has been recorded) and changes in visual arrangements in churches during the thirteenth century may have been concessions to 'popular' interests in some way, but even so they were apparently acceptable also for the hierarchy. Similarly, changes in the polyphony in the sixteenth century may not have been of great concern to the Fathers of the Tridentine Council,[10] but still the individual bishop in his diocese and so also the pope somehow had to sanction practices which were carried out, whether by passivity or by active consideration.

Following LaCocque and Ricœur, an understanding for the incorporation of new practices or strategies in church rituals and, more generally, in devotional rituals performed by groups with an official status may be formulated as follows: the modification of established practices can be seen as reinterpretations of these in response to contemporary devotional (or other) demands. They are not normally to be seen as contradicting tradition, but rather as adjustments and resignifications of accepted and authoritative traditions.

Western liturgical history clearly encompasses much more than the preservation of the biblical canon although the latter is a constituent element of it through the scriptural readings during the mass and offices, in both monastic and secular ecclesiastical contexts, and also in private devotional contexts. At the same time, it is also evident that both in a large-scale 'spiritual' perspective and in the formation of the individual words, images, songs, or even the construction of ceremonial patterns liturgical history can be considered as one line of a history of biblical interpretation and reception, thus forming a part of what in the terminology of LaCocque and Ricœur may be described as the biblical foreground.[11]

The present book thus rests fundamentally, but not in any doctrinal way, on traditions of reception history, where especially Paul Ricœur but also Hans Robert Jauss have been of direct importance. It operates from the methodological point of view that a one-dimensional, linear historical account is not appropriate to the questions arising. We do not wish to abandon broad historical narratives. In fact, we would like to highlight the importance of overall constructions of *metahistory* in order to counteract the kind of fragmentation which is often the outcome of a

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[10] See Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55 (2002), 1–37.

[11] LaCocque and Ricœur, 1998, Preface.

specific kind of scholarly discussion where isolated and self-contained disciplinary discourses are seen as the only way to secure a scholarly methodology.[12]

Conversely, it is our intention to balance historical generalizations—which necessarily occur when constructing grand narratives—by *polyphony*. In other words, the overall construction is based on several more or less parallel—and not necessarily concordant—historical narratives. With the notion of polyphony we are drawing on a concept which was used by Bakhtin to describe a literary employment of characters, ideologically different from the author and from each other—and ultimately inspired by musical practices.[13] In our context, the point is to construct a historical narrative through a number of sub-voices that are not ideologically dependent on each other. Also, we want to highlight the simultaneity inherent in the musical term. This construction of a *historical* narrative seems to imply a certain tension between what is usually construed as disciplinary scholarly work on the one hand and creative imagination on the other.

This is the seemingly intractable historical conflict of the discipline of history as it has been laid out by Hayden White.[14] On the one hand, there is the intention of arriving at 'convincing' descriptions; if they cannot be claimed to be objective, at least they must be intended to be contestable interpretations of the chosen topics. On the other, there is no way of avoiding subjectivity in, or creative organization of, the involved questions and data nor in the choice of phenomena applied to constitute the basis for the investigation. Accordingly, the use of the idea of polyphony in our context may be considered as an intensified version of a purely literary voicing of different ideologies or characters claiming the intention of an overall totality of at least some coherence. Polyphony in such a usage comes close to the idea of musical polyphony where the main task is to compose musical voices which are as independent and musically self-contained as possible while at the same time offering a result which is coherent and harmonically satisfying according to the changing criteria of different musical styles at various times.

The problem with this double intention is, of course, that in a piece of musical polyphony, there is more often than not a single author. In a scholarly collaboration there are several. However, a collaboration which intends to produce something that may be accepted as efficacious must necessarily have some common ground, although all authors need not be in perfect agreement in all respects. It is important to arrive at criteria for what is considered to be coherent or what may stand as a common denominator. Such criteria be negotiated along the way during the

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[12] For a historically important discussion of such issues, including the importance of a metahistory, see Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), especially ch. 2, 'Interpretation in History', pp. 51–80.

[13] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. and trans. by Caryl Emerson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), first published in Russian in 1929.

[14] White, *Tropics*, see especially ch. 1, 'The Burden of History', pp. 27–50.

collaboration so that the denominator or the demand of coherence does not necessarily become a straitjacket for the individual participants. Therefore, it may be that this common denominator only becomes completely well-defined at two points: at the outset of the collaboration, i.e., when it comes to the purpose and intention of the project, and at the end, where—although the original idea of coherence may have been changed along the way—one must be able to discern whether the overall project has arrived at anything like a result. In between, the criteria of the common denominator may be in flux.

Since the essays of this book obviously deal with very different types of topics, one main criterion for coherence is that the authors and the editors work on the basis of fundamental questions belonging to the larger metahistorical quest sketched out above. Each individual essay may revise or question aspects of this basis, but they must do so in some conscious relation to its basic quest. The present introduction is meant as a suggestion to the reader that all essays be read with this perspective in mind in order for the polyphony to be perceived in the sense outlined above. The construction of continuities and discontinuities in the wide-ranging historical materials of this book constitutes a construction of meaning: one way of building a narrative complex with building blocks provided by the individual specialist discourses. The house may be built with rather different blocks, and there may be a number of different approaches to the construction, but there must be some common attitude concerning the overall building plan.

For some historians, the idea of *constructing* narratives of history may seem to violate the scholarly ideals of writing history. This has to do with what may be seen as an overemphasis on scientific rather than scholarly academic ideals in the modern history of scholarship. Interestingly, however, as is apparent for instance in the institutional structuring of modern universities, there is one discipline which even today is normally considered to belong to science although it is fundamentally concerned with constructions and never builds on experiments or observations of natural phenomena: *mathematics*. It is fundamentally a deductive discipline constructing its results within larger or smaller axiomatic systems. In view of this, there would seem to be no intrinsic reason to reject the idea of construction as a scientific effort.

Years ago, the sociologist Peter L. Berger noted how mathematical theories—which he characterized as being pure constructions of the human mind—in many cases have later turned out to correspond fruitfully to observations within other sciences. Thus mathematics functions as an auxiliary science primarily to physics.[15] In other words, constructions of the mind need not be without relations to the physical or 'real' world. In the early twentieth century, changes of an epistemological and ideological nature had lasting influence on the understanding of mathematics as a discipline: the basic axiomatic foundation of mathematics was

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[15] Peter L. Berger, *A Rumour of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1971), p. 64.

critically discussed by mathematicians and philosophers who did not, however, achieve an overall new agreement concerning this, nor were any changes in the institutional affiliations of the discipline carried through.[16]

The idea of mathematical constructions as an analogy to historical constructions may be taken one step further by establishing a mathematical metaphor for historical polyphony in the sense described above. In the mathematics of the nineteenth century, so-called vector spaces were constructed, based on the three geometrical dimensions, but abstracted from these so that they might also be of more than three dimensions—in principle without an upper limit.[17] Similarly, it is possible to construct abstract generalizations of the graphic representations of functions, known from elementary mathematics. In a traditional graph, the function is represented in a two-dimensional system of coordinates. If the function is called f, then each point in the two-dimensional coordinate system which belongs to the graph of the function would have the form $(x, f(x))$. In the generalized vector space, the outcome of the same procedure will consist of points of a graph which, of course, it is not necessarily possible to visualize. It is nevertheless possible to construct a multidimensional figure which is precisely defined in such a way. What we are trying to do here is to establish such a 'graph' as a metaphor for the polyphonic narrative web of a project or of this book. The multidimensional graph may be seen as polyphonic since it is possible to cut through it in many ways which will lead to parts that are seemingly independent of each other and may not immediately be recognizable as parts of the same overall structure just as when any three-dimensional structure is sliced up in different directions, its two-dimensional sub-parts may not easily be recognized as that. In this sense, the (generalized) graph may

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[16] Carl B. Boyer, *A History of Mathematics*. Second edition, rev. by Uta C. Merzbach (New York: John Wiley, 1991), p. 611. It is interesting to compare this with the descriptions of mathematical milieus in a novel written by Apostolos Doxiadis, a Greek author educated in the USA as a mathematician: *Uncle Petros and Goldbach's Conjecture* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000, in the author's own English translation; first published in 1992). The views of certain mathematicians that mathematics is not a natural science but a logical game which is presented in Doxiadis's book and hinted at above are in agreement with experiences which one of the editors of the present book (NHP) had when taking his master's degree in mathematics at the University of Copenhagen in the late 1960s. Philosophically, this discussion was to some extent raised by Kant in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), concerning the philosophical category of the mathematical statement 2+2 = 4. Compare also Wittgenstein's reference to this as well as to mathematics as an *activity*, as a part of a game— yet also as a branch of knowledge (Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. by G. E. M. Anscombe [Oxford: Blackwell, 2001, reprint of third edition], pp. 226–27). See also section xv in *Wittgensteins Vorlesungen über die Grundlagen der Mathematik: Cambridge, 1939*, ed. by Cora Diamond, trans. by Joachim Schulte (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978), pp. 171–83.

[17] Boyer, *A History*, pp. 584–86.

illustrate the idea of coherence of a polyphonically constructed historical web of narratives.

The planning and writing of the present book has been connected to the medieval part of the research plan of the *Centre for the Study of the Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals* (at the University of Copenhagen, subsidized by a five-year grant from the *Danish National Research Foundation*). A fundamental assumption underlying this research plan is that what stands out as an important part of the musical, poetical, theatrical, and visual European cultural production in modern times may be read as taking part in a long line of reception of texts, music, performative actions, as well as visual artefacts from the medieval Latin Church. European culture is here to be understood in a broad sense connected to European influence and cultural heritage. The project traces ways in which a medieval complex of theological ideals and ritual practices with a dynamic and constructive potential is transformed and reverberates in cultural practices often described by means of aesthetic terminologies which developed—partly through the same complex transformations—in particular since the eighteenth century. Considered from this point of view, significant aspects of modern Western culture may be seen in a new light through investigations of multifaceted historical processes which altogether have often been understood as belonging to a process of secularization: an idea of a historically increasing detachment from the idea of a sacred worldview which was institutionalized through the spiritual and temporal constructions of the medieval Latin Church: the papacy, the idea of the Church as the sole authoritative interpreter of the biblical canon, and the 'Roman' liturgy. Surely, the mentioned historical processes must be understood in a less one-dimensional way, not only through the concept of 'secularization'. Also 'sacralizations' of practices which are usually seen as belonging to the secular realm are important features of this long and involved history. This can easily be exemplified in music history as is well-known from early Romantic literary and musical figures through for instance Wagner and Nietzsche up to for instance Karlheinz Stockhausen, but in individual cases such a sacralization may be seen much earlier, as for instance in the seeming ascription of a public ritual role for certain manuscripts originating as collections of songs for personal, individual devotional use for King Alfonso X.[18] In the present essay collection, a variety of historical narratives have been constructed concerning such issues within what is traditionally defined as the Middle Ages.

The Centre project is based on seven individual subprojects of different disciplines and belonging to different historical periods. These form a kind of backbone for the research plan to be supplemented by other individual scholarly contributions. Similarly, this book consists of ten independent articles. Even though the book does not contain a specifically formulated overall narrative, the

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[18] See Kirstin Kennedy's article in this volume.

construction of the essays assumes a polyphonic structure of individual voices replacing the traditional historical narrative. Thus, both in the case of the above-mentioned project and in that of the book, there are two main categories: a) an assumed general quest concerning to what extent European cultural history can be constructed as a cultural heritage of medieval rituals and, b) individual specific narratives or more or less similar constructions related to narratives designed as subtopics. The overall construction is construed as a dialogue between two levels. One level consists of the individual subtopics with each of their disciplines, special areas and methodology. The other level is the overarching structure of the book, constituting a kind of narrative technology based on the idea of a polyphonic cultural history. Thus, the individual voices are not harmonized through fixed or historically restrained criteria but should be understood as individual accounts with no absolute claim of being 'the Truth'. Considered as a partial account possibly contradicted by the others, each account is contextualized by the totality while throwing light on that totality itself.

Carolingian Music, Ritual, and Theology

NILS HOLGER PETERSEN

T he Frankish chant practice resulting from the appropriation of Roman chant, in particular the *proprium* of the mass, the repertory of chants throughout the Church year that depend on the calendar (as opposed to the—at least in general—unchanging *ordinarium*), gave rise to new poetico-musical types of chants —among them *tropes* and *sequences*—which significantly influenced the religious practices. The Carolingian emphasis on correct singing (including the use of correct Latin) as well as on manuscript production in general were important factors contributing to the gradual establishing of a written transmission of music which over the following centuries transformed the European musical culture so fundamentally that it has become difficult—if not impossible—in later times to conceptualize the early European pre-notational musical culture.[1]

As chant is part of a religious practice, its theological and ritual context is evident. This context is reflected in preserved liturgical manuscripts containing the words for these chants, words with a biblical, devotional and doctrinal basis. Musical notation can be found in such documents, and the theological context is further evidenced by

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[1] Scholars—in particular Leo Treitler and Kenneth Levy—have debated the nature and length of this process towards a written transmission (also trying to come to terms with the question of the historical roots of the so-called Gregorian chant) without arriving at a general consensus. It falls outside the scope of this essay to contribute to this debate. Reprints of fundamental essays from this debate combined with new contributions have been published in two collections: Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), and Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). See also the three following articles, all published in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003): Kenneth Levy, 'Gregorian Chant and the Romans', 5–41, James Grier, 'Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*', 43–98, and Susan Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', 99–168.

numerous theoretical writings by the Carolingians, expositions on the mass and the office, on musical practice and music writing, documents which in a certain sense established a theology of the liturgical chant.[2]

In this essay I want to discuss the 'meaning' of this music in a ritual perspective. In recent musicological scholarship, the idea of 'expressive meaning' in music has been taken up in different ways: often influenced by theories of semiotics but also dealt with by scholars with specific historically oriented hermeneutic positions.[3] Traditionally, scholars interested in these questions have not applied them to medieval or (more generally) to liturgical monophonic music, most likely because such musical repertories have generally been viewed as functional and not as a 'real' integrated part of the Western history of musical composition. It is no mere coincidence that traditional accounts of music history have often focused on individual 'great' composers.[4] Conversely, when constructing historical narratives

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[2] Anders Ekenberg, *Cur cantatur?* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987), and the contributions by Treitler and Levy (n. 1).

[3] For recent studies in musical semiotics, I refer to Eero Tarasti, *A Theory of Musical Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), and, by the same author, *Existential Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Raymond Monelle, *Linguistics and Semiotics in Music* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992), and Kofi Agawu, 'The Challenge of Semiotics', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 138–60. Radically different approaches may be found in Leo Treitler, 'Hermeneutics, Exegetics, or What?', in *13th Nordic Musicological Congress: Aarhus 2000*, ed. by Thomas Holme Hansen (Aarhus, Denmark: The Department of Musicology, University of Aarhus, 2002), pp. 48–64. One of the prominent figures in 'new musicology', Lawrence Kramer, has published several books on discursive music interpretation. I refer to *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) and *Musical Meaning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[4] See Wulf Arlt, 'Komponieren im Galluskloster um 900: Tuotilos Tropen *Hodie cantandus est* zur Weihnacht und *Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus* zum Fest des Iohannes evangelista', in *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 15 (1995), 41–70, pp. 41 and 70. Constructions of a concept of 'musical composition' and of 'composers in a modern sense' tend to exclude early monophonic music. See Jürg Stenzl, 'Perotinus Magnus: Und die Musikforschung erschuf den ersten Komponisten. Nach ihrem Ebenbilde erschuf sie ihn', in *Perotinus Magnus*, ed. by Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, Musik-Konzepte, 107 (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2000), pp. 19–52, demonstrating how Perotinus, the assumed composer of three- and four-part *organa* in Paris around 1200, was constructed by music historians in the beginning of the twentieth century as 'the first great European composer'. Compare also statements in recent publications by music historians to the effect that musical composition in the modern sense began with the mentioned repertory, see Nils Holger Petersen, 'Liturgy and Musical Composition', in *Studia Theologica: Scandinavian Journal of Theology*, 50 (1996), 125–43, esp. p. 132–33, and 141, n. 34, referring to publications by Fritz Reckow and Edward H. Roesner from the 1960s and 1990s.

about music from rituals and such seemingly functional contexts, the emphasis has often been on functionality in addition to the attempts—concerning the early medieval liturgy – to achieve a basic knowledge of the liturgical embedding and how traditional music practices came to be codified and ascribed normative status.[5] Even so, questions concerning signification in early chant have been raised in modern scholarship.[6]

The questions raised in this article, however, are not general ones of signification in music from around 900. They are raised out of a modern cultural-historical interest in the interaction between ritual practices and musical culture during the Carolingian era and concern the theological efficacy of the music—also a sort of functionality of the music—beyond the relations between words and music in chant practices.

The Ritual Context of Carolingian Music

An important theological tradition concerning music goes back to ideas formulated by St Augustine in a number of his Psalm expositions, some of which were held as sermons around 400.[7] The *iubilus*—which seems to have denoted a well-known vocal practice at his time (of singing without words)—was interpreted by him in a religious context so that the music was claimed to take over when human words no longer were sufficient to express the faith of the believer. In a short passage from the

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[5] Concerning the subordination of a quest for a musical understanding under functional aspects in modern musicology (with reference to Carl Dahlhaus), see Eyolf Østrem, 'The Ineffable: Affinities between Christian and Secular Concepts of Art', in *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and Their Representation in the Arts, 1000–2000*, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Nicolas Bell, and Claus Clüver (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 265–92, esp. p. 285.

[6] See Arlt 1995; Susan Rankin, 'Carolingian Music', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 274–316, esp. pp. 279–92; John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), esp. p. 372–412. See also Gunilla Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2001) and the publications of the *Corpus Troporum* project in Stockholm and the collaborative efforts between Latinists and musicologists furthered by it (see further below at n. 15–16). See also my 'Understanding Medieval Chant and Liturgy', in *Gregorian Chant and Medieval Music*, ed. by Audun Dybdahl, Ola Kai Ledang, and Nils Holger Petersen (Trondheim: Tapir, 1998), pp. 139–50, and 'Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum: Reading the Words and Music of a Processional Easter Chant', in *Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the 8th Meeting, Visegrád, Hungary, 1998*, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 2001), pp. 611–24.

[7] Aurelius Augustinus, *Enarrationes in psalmos, Aurelii Augustini opera* pars X (1–3), Corpus Christianorum, series latina (hereafter CCSL), 38–40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956).

commentary to Psalm 99, Augustine defined jubilation (in accordance with statements in other of his Psalm commentaries): 'He who jubilates does not speak words but a sound of joy without words; for it is the voice of a soul overflowing with joy, expressing its state of mind (*affectum*) as much as it can without understanding the sense.'[8] He further elucidated the question of understanding, implying that a kind of understanding (as it seems non verbal) was part of the act of contemplating God; this was the essence of the jubilation: 'you have understood the jubilation of the whole Earth if you jubilate for the Lord.'[9]

Augustine's statements here and elsewhere may be characterized as a musico-theological understanding. His remark in the comments to Psalm 32 concerning how to sing well—how not to offend the ears of the very best judge of music, God—to the effect that this was done by jubilating raises the question of whether Augustine was purely theoretically theological in this statement or whether he—as the Carolingians later (see below)—also thought in terms of aesthetical consequences of his spiritual understanding.[10] Lack of knowledge about the sounding music of his time presents a barrier even to approaching an answer to this question.

Even for the early notated music, possibilities for making interpretations are limited by lack of knowledge. What we have from approximately a century after the time when it is believed that the mass proper had stabilized, are graphic representations of chants which give concrete (and rather detailed) information about the musical delivery. However, performances on the basis of these representations require prior knowledge of the melodies.[11]

It is generally accepted that the achievements of the Carolingians should be seen above all as a striving for religious reform. The interest in learning (sometimes referred to as the Carolingian Renaissance) led to the erection of monastic schools serving the whole of society, the ordering of Church celebrations, the organizational interests in the institutions of the Church (including the establishing of a diocesan

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[8] All translations are mine unless otherwise specified. 'In psalmum XCIX'; CCSL 39, pp. 1393–1404, 1394: 'Qui iubilat, non uerba dicit, sed sonus quidam est laetitiae sine uerbis; uox est enim animi diffusi laetitia, quantum potest, exprimentis affectum, non sensum comprehendentis.' Cf. my discussion of the mentioned passages in my 'Liturgy and Musical Composition', pp. 129–31. See also Østrem, 'Ineffable', pp. 279–81, as well as Eyolf Østrem, 'Music and the Ineffable' in *Voicing the Ineffable*, ed. by Siglind Bruhn (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2002), pp. 287–312, esp. pp. 288–93. Concerning the *iubilus* and the liturgy, see James McKinnon, 'The Patristic Jubilus and the Alleluia of the mass', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary 19–24 September 1988*, ed. by Laszló Dobszay and others (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Musicology, 1990), pp. 61–70.

[9] CCSL 39, 1397: 'intellexisti iubilationem omnis terrae, si iubilas Domino.'

[10] 'In psalmum XXXII', sermo I; CCSL 38, section 8, pp. 253–54.

[11] See Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, pp. 244–45, (in ch. 10 reprinting his 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 471–91).

structure), and the monastic reforms on the basis of the Rule of Benedict. All should be seen as a part of this Christian reformation.[12] The collected efforts were circumscribed by a fundamental theological understanding of the world. Considering this, it may seem surprising that the output of theological thought from the Carolingian era generally has not been deemed of great importance. The theology of the Carolingians partly consisted in transmitting the views of the Church Fathers and partly in polemical writings concerning issues associated with heresy: century-old Christological issues taken up by a new-adoptionist stance (Felix of Urgel and Elipand of Toledo); the use of images in Christian devotion, brought up by the papacy in response to the Byzantine iconoclastic conflict; predestination and Augustinian theology; the literal or symbolical interpretation of the presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements as discussed by Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus (both of Corbie).[13] However important these issues were—had been for centuries and would be for centuries to come—and in spite of subtle writers such as John Scottus Eriugena (and the mentioned monks of Corbie), the Carolingian theological output is usually summarized by historians of theology and intellectual life as practically rather than philosophically oriented.[14]

Texts and music for the devotional practices of the Church, on the other hand, seem to have attracted more interest. The collected musico-poetic output of the later part of the Carolingian period in tropes and sequences was enormous and strongly affected what seems to have been the earlier reception (and transformation) of

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[12] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), esp. 'Introduction', pp. xv–xxi. Also, Giles Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in *Carolingian Culture*, pp. 1–51, esp. p. 11–28, and 44–46.

[13] See David Ganz, 'Theology and the organization of thought', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), II (*c. 700–c. 900*), pp. 758–85.

[14] See also John Marenbon, 'Carolingian Thought', in *Carolingian Culture*, pp. 171–92, Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 76–107, esp. p. 105–07, and Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition 400–1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 66–75, esp. p. 71.

Roman liturgy and chant practices,[15] establishing hitherto unknown ways of combining old and new complexes of words and music.[16]

The intimate connections between music and words signal that music was not indifferent to the theological meanings which the words set forth.[17] Conversely, the existence of highly *melismatic* melodies indicates that just supporting the words was not the only aim of the music. The *sequentiae*, the melismas connected to the *alleluia*—suggestively called *iubilus* by Amalar of Metz[18]—and the purely musical trope insertions known in particular from St Gall[19] point in the same direction. In John Stevens's understanding, the two fundamental principles of recitation and jubilation together span the musical space of medieval plainchant.[20]

As Catherine Bell has pointed out, the 'idea of ritual is itself a construction'.[21] It has been applied to a variety of ethnographic descriptions since the late nineteenth century,[22] and it follows from Bell's account that it is not possible to define the concept if one requires such a definition to achieve general acceptance among scholars of practices which—based on a common usage of the word—have all been

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[15] Rankin, 'Carolingian Music', esp. pp. 303–13; Wulf Arlt, 'Neue Formen des liturgischen Gesangs: Sequenz und Tropus', in *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Beiträge zum Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), pp. 732–40. Also the numerous editions of the *Corpus Troporum* project at Stockholm University (under the guidance of Ritva Jacobsson, Gunilla Iversen, and Gunilla Björkvall). Since 1975, nine volumes have appeared, and more are to come (see also n. 53 below, citing *Corpus Troporum* I).

[16] Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, 'Tropentypen in St. Gallen', in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. by Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), pp. 119–74; Gunilla Iversen, 'Music as *Ancilla verbi* and Words as *Ancilla musicae*', and Charles M. Atkinson, 'Music as "Mistress of the Words": *Laudes deo ore pio*', both in *Liturgische Tropen*, ed. by Gabriel Silagi (Munich: Bei der Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1985), pp. 45–66 and 67–82 resp.; Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler, 'Tropes and the Concept of Genre', in *Pax et sapientia. Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, ed. by Ritva Jacobsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986), pp. 59–89.

[17] For instance, Arlt 1995, esp. p. 46.

[18] *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, Studi e testi 140, 3 vols, ed. by I. M. Hanssens (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948–50), II, p. 304.

[19] Wulf Arlt, 'Liturgischer Gesang und gesungene Dichtung im Kloster St. Gallen', in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter: Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Peter Ochsenbein (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), pp. 137–65, (p. 158). Also Björkvall and Haug, 'Tropentypen', pp. 140–61.

[20] Stevens, *Words and Music*, p. 304.

[21] Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 21.

[22] Bell, *Ritual*, pp. 1 and 21.

regarded as ritual. In the Middle Ages no single abstract term is known to be coextensive with the modern term, ritual. Throughout his career, C. Clifford Flanigan discussed medieval liturgy in a ritual perspective, applying modern theoretical tools, first from a perspective of religious history (Mircea Eliade and Odo Casel), later from anthropology (Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner).[23] What Flanigan in later publications saw as important for those who participated in medieval Church ceremonies is probably best summarized by reference to repeatedly used patterns (according to tradition and unwritten norms)—what he described as 'ritual grammar'—an understanding established through practice, not through doctrines, which, although Flanigan did not make such a connection, comes close to a Wittgensteinian idea of knowledge.[24] Such practices would be subject to interpretation as it is seen in the writings of liturgical commentators; they were thought to have a signification. Amalar, for instance, interpreted items in a ceremony by way of biblical references and allegory (see below). Unsurprisingly, the ceremonies were not discussed from a detached theoretical point of view, but by an inside participant on the basis of canonical biblical writings. A critical (or negative) response might come in the case of opposition against a particular practice as in a decision from a synod in Meaux (845) which criticizes—and forbids—the practice of troping characterizing this practice with words like *interpolare* (interpolate), *adinventiones* (inventions), *fictiones* (newly made, as opposed to the traditional or canonical).[25] Inside (positive) responses and denunciations are not directly comparable, of course: in the latter case, a denounced ritual will not be considered worthy of a spiritual interpretation.

Following Flanigan's use of Clifford Geertz, as a point of departure, medieval Church practices may be described as rituals. They are seen as performative acts based on formalized structures ascribed a theological meaning constituting some kind of a meeting between man and God. Geertz's well-known characterization of a ritual states that:

> [...] it is in some sort of ceremonial form—even if that form be hardly more than the recitation of a myth, the consultation of an oracle, or the decoration of a grave—that the moods and motivations which sacred symbols induce in men and the general conceptions of the order of existence which they formulate for men meet and reinforce one another. In a ritual, the world as lived and the world as imagined, fused under the

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[23] See C. Clifford Flanigan, 'The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope', in *Comparative Drama*, 8 (1974), 45–62; 'The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama', in *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 43 (1973–74), 263–84; and 'Medieval Liturgy and the Arts: Visitatio Sepulchri as Paradigm', in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. by Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), pp. 9–35.

[24] Flanigan, 'Medieval Liturgy and the Arts', p. 15.

[25] Arlt, 'Neue Formen', p. 736–38. See also Philippe Buc, 'Ritual and Interpretation: the Early Medieval Case', in *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 183–210, esp. p. 185.

agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turns out to be the same world, producing thus that idiosyncratic transformation in one's sense of reality [...].[26]

One of the most prolific (and controversial) liturgical commentators of the Carolingian era was Bishop Amalar.[27] In his *Liber officialis* from *c.* 822, the section *De introitu episcopi ad missam* (On the entrance of the bishop to the mass) discusses the introit chant. The bishop (substituting for Christ) is accompanied by the singing of an antiphon excerpted from the Psalms:

> Christ, the Son of God, who has chosen his own ones before the establishing of the World so that they should be saintly and unstained, sent heralds in the Old Testament, not to mention others, who through the sweetness and melodiousness of the voice could collect his People to the worship of the one God.[28]

Referring to Augustine's Sermon 23 on St John in support of the idea that 'anyone who is drawn to God is drawn by delight, not by necessity',[29] Amalar continues: 'the sweet voice of the cantors is designed for this task because its sweetness makes it suitable to encourage the people to confess to the Lord.'[30]

The importance of the characterization of the voice of the cantors as sweet (*dulcis*) is highlighted by the use of words such as *suavis*, *suavitas*, *dulcis*, and *dulcedo* in contemporary theological music treatises. In prayers for individual devotions, written in another Carolingian document, *De psalmorum usu liber*, the words *dulcedo*, and *suavis* (sweetness, and sweet or delightful)—and other similar expressions—are used to characterize God or the grace of God: 'you are my sweetness' and 'And you, Lord, support me with your mercy for the sake of your name for your mercy is sweet.'[31]

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[26] Clifford Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural System', in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. by Michael Banton (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), pp. 1–46 (p. 28). Also: Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), esp. pp. 25–29 (p. 27).

[27] See also Donnalee Dox's article in this volume.

[28] Hanssens, 1948–50, II, 271–82 (p. 272): 'Christus Filius Dei, qui elegit suos ante constitutionem mundi, ut essent sancti et immaculati, misit praecones in veteri testamento, ut de aliis taceam, qui suavitate ac modulatione vocis populum suum congregare[n]t ad unius Dei cultum.'

[29] Ibid., p. 273, 'Quicumque enim Deo attrahitur, delectatione attrahitur, non necessitate.' Ekenberg, pp. 161–62, discusses Augustine on delectation as a rhetorical device in preaching.

[30] Hanssens, II, 273: 'Ac ideo cantorum vox dulcis huic operi dedita est, ut sua dulcedine idonea sit hortari populum ad confitendum Domino.'

[31] 'Tu dulcedo mea sancta' (directed to God), and 'Et tu, Domine, fac mecum misericordiam propter nomen tuum, quoniam suavis est misericordia tua.' Beatus Flaccus Albinus seu Alcuinus, *De psalmorum usu liber*; PL 101, cols 466–508 (col. 477, resp. 479–80); see also cols 488, 505, and 506. The treaty is ascribed to Alcuin in PL whereas in Wilhelm Heil's article 'Alkuin' in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, II (Berlin: Walter de

I read Amalar to state that the introit chant, as it was performed and heard, could be likened to the voice of the prophets.[32] Ekenberg has suggested that the statement—in the *Liber officialis* (concerning the Eucharist)—that 'sacraments must bear some likeness to the things of which they are sacraments' may be understood to regard properties of signifiers to sacred things more generally, including the liturgical chant (since a fixed doctrinal understanding of sacraments had not been formulated at the time). [33]

In the opening paragraphs of the *Scolica enchiriadis* of the late ninth century, the quadrivial understanding of music is integrated in a theologico-aesthetical statement about criteria for a good melody. The introductory dialogue between the master and the disciple (drawing on Augustine's *De musica*) directly combines the Augustinian idea of singing well in the ears of God, the ultimate music critic, with a quadrivial understanding, ideas which do not seem to have been combined by Augustine. In order to arrive at a melody 'that sounds sweet' (*melos suavisonum*), two criteria must be fulfilled at the same time: the rules of the discipline (*ars*) must be met, and the sweetness of the discipline (*suavitas artis*) must not be misused for worthless purposes. The latter condition—if not directly defined—is at least suggested to concern the devotion in the heart of the singer. Thus the point seems to be that a good melody must be made with a heart full of devotion and competently according to 'the rules of the musical discipline':

> M[aster]. What is music?
> D[isciple]. The science of regulating properly the movement of sound.
> M: But what does it mean to regulate properly the movement of sound?
> D: To control melody so that it sounds sweet. But this must be done in full conformance with the rules. It is clear to me that one who misuses the sweetness of this art for worthless purposes, just as one who does not know how to apply the discipline where it is necessary, does not regulate sound properly. Rather, only someone with a heart full of devotion sings sweetly to the Lord.[34]

Gruyter, 1978), pp. 266–76 (p. 272), it is considered to be pseudo-Alcuin, but influenced by Alcuin. In *Prier au moyen âge: Pratiques et expériences*, ed. by Nicole Bériou, Jacques Berlioz, and Jean Longère (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), p. 142, the *praefatio* is attributed to Alcuin.

[32] Cf. Ekenberg, pp. 43–44.

[33] Hanssens, 1948–50, II, 14: 'Sacramenta debent habere similitudinem aliquam earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt.' Ekenberg, pp. 28–29 (see especially n. 7 demonstrating how Amalar's statement is congruous with a statement by St Augustine). In the *De doctrina Christiana*, Book III, 13, Augustine discusses sacraments as spiritual signs, but focusing on the signs given (in his view) by the teaching of Christ, see Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), pp. 85–86. In Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum*, a florilegium compiled around 814, *sacramentum* (in various declinations) is found three times, in the general sense of sacred sign. See PL 102, cols 623 and 665. Ekenberg, p. 133.

[34] Quoted from *Musica Enchiriadis and Scolica Enchiriadis*, trans., with introduction and

The quadrivial understanding of music at this time was to a very high extent defined by the reception of the *De institutione musica* (the Fundamentals of Music) by Boethius (written in the early sixth century). A copy of this is known to have been in the palace library of Charlemagne. The Carolingian reception of this important treatise seems to have concentrated on speculative, philosophical and arithmetic issues, not in any way incorporating religious or edificational comments in the glosses to the preserved Carolingian manuscripts of the *De institutione*. Also, no reference to performative practices of music is found.[35] It seems—not surprisingly— that it was the practical, liturgical, or ritual context rather than the theoretical, which brought up ideas of devotion as musical criteria.

Alcuin of York (732–804) became Charlemagne's famous spiritual advisor and the head of the Palace school in Aachen. Alcuin's introduction to the liberal arts, the *De vera philosophia* has recently been read as a christianization of the *artes liberales*.[36] This is a fruitful context within which to understand the claims of the *Scolica enchiriadis*. Carolingians had taken up performative aspects of music (as mentioned earlier) in commentaries as well as in music writing and thus questions of how to make the ceremonies work efficaciously musically would have been relevant. In this respect, Clifford Geertz's modern ritual approach pointing to the correspondence between world view and concrete experience seems to be congruent with the Carolingian statements discussed here. These highlight criteria concerning correspondences between a theological world view and musical experiences connected to ceremonies. Whereas Geertz's understanding obviously encompasses many areas of human experience (connected to the participants in a ritual), the

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notes, by Raymond Erickson, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 33. Latin text *Musica et scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*, ed. by Hans Schmid (Munich: Verlag der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), p. 60: 'M: Musica quid est? D: Bene modulandi scientia. M: Bene modulari quid est? D: Melos suavisonum moderari. Sed haec quantum ad artem. Ceterum non bene modulari video, si quis in vanis suavitate artis abutitur, quemadmodum nec ipse, qui, ubi oportet, arte uti non novit, quamvis quilibet devoto tantum corde Domino dulce canit.' See also the Introduction, p. xxii, concerning the piousness of the author of the *Scolica enchiriadis*.

[35] Calvin M. Bower, 'Die Wechselwirkung von *philosophia, mathematica* und *musica* in der Karolingischen Rezeption der "Institutio musica" von Boethius', in *Musik—und die Geschichte der Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter: Fragen zur Wechselwirkung von 'musica' und 'philosophia' im Mittelalter*, ed. by Frank Hentschel (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 163–83, esp. p. 164 and 178–83.

[36] Andreas Bücker, 'Christianizing the Arts: From Augustine's *De Ordine* to Carolingian Thought', in *Signs of Change*, pp. 161–77. See also Bower, 'Wechselwirkung', p. 163, and Louis Holtz, 'Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux', in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*, ed. by P. Butzer, M. Kerner, and W. Oberschelp, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), I *(Wissen und Weltbild)*, pp. 45–60, esp. p. 54–59.

Carolingian texts only regard participants' experiences of and demands to the music: the music is (or should be) congruent with the meaning of the liturgy. Its sound is congruent with the message (Amalar) and the personal experience of the singers must conform to this (the heart full of devotion in *Scolica enchiriadis*). Within the much narrower perspective of music appreciation in Carolingian liturgy, this is in agreement with Geertz's ritual theorizing, under the assumption that a ceremony where the music would be felt not to be in correspondence with the underlying world view of the ceremony would have made it difficult for participants to experience the ceremony as a meeting point between this world view and their own daily experiences. Conversely, the idea that chanting is helpful in reinforcing the Christian faith seems to be at work in a text by (or at least connected to) Alcuin.

In his treatise against the earlier mentioned Felix of Urgel in which he argues for the traditional Christological view referring to Leo the Great—influential in establishing the doctrine of Chalcedon in 451 on the two natures of Christ—Alcuin gives an interesting statement (especially for a doctrinal polemical treatise) about the relationship between liturgy and doctrine: it is in faithful veneration rather than by rational discourse that the doctrines of the incarnation and redemption (and he specifically includes the understanding of the natures of Christ) should be appreciated. In words which bring St Augustine's idea of jubilation to mind, he states:

> According to the Catholic faith which we defend, preach and love, there are two particular, perfect natures in Christ: namely a divine nature, born before all times through—and being of the same substance as—God the Father, and a Human nature through which the same Son of God in the fullness of time became flesh through the Virgin. So he became a true man, he who is the true Son of God all the way in his own nature as well as all the way in our nature—as expressed by the blessed Pope Leo; the same [person] in both natures, not one in his nature and another in ours. For indeed, the Word was united with the flesh in a way which cannot be explained, so that we say that the Word itself, about which the blessed evangelist John says: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God* (John 1. 1) was made flesh [...] and the blood of him, by whom everything was created, was poured out for the salvation of all, according to the testimony of the apostle, who affirms: *And the blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin* (i John 1. 7). All such things we should rather venerate in faith than discuss rationally: for where reason is lacking, faith is necessary.[37]

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[37] Beatus Flaccus Albinus seu Alcuinus, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum, libri septem*, in PL 101, col. 134: 'Catholica enim fides habet, quam nos defendimus, praedicamus et amamus, in Christo duas naturas esse proprias et perfectas, divinam scilicet, qua ex Deo Patre ante omnia tempora consubstantialiter natus est: humanam vero qua in plenitudine temporum ex Virgine idem ipse Filius Dei carnem assumpsit, et factus est verus homo, qui est verus Filius Dei totus in suo, ut beatus Leo papa ait, et totus in nostro; idem in utroque, non alter in suo, et alter in nostro. Quia enim Verbum cum carne ita est ineffabili modo unitum, ut ipsum Verbum, de quo beatus Joannes evangelista dicit: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum*

If this statement is combined with the following statement from the *praefatio* to the earlier mentioned *De psalmorum usu liber*, an interesting idea comes within reach:

> When the voice of psalmody is carried out with the attention of the heart, it provides a way for the omnipotent God to the heart so that he will infuse the mysteries of prophecy or the grace of compunction into the attentive mind. So it is written (Psalm 49. 23): *Those who bring thanksgiving as their sacrifice honor me; to those who go the right way I will show the salvation of God.* Thus, in the offering of the divine praise, a way pointing to Jesus is made because while compunction is being poured out through the psalmody a way is made in the heart by which we may come to Jesus. Indeed, it is worthy that the mind shall cleanse itself of all present as much as it can, and shall cling to the divine praises and spiritual things so that the heavenly things may be revealed to it. There is nothing in this mortal life in which we can cling to God in a more familiar way than in the very praises of him. Furthermore, no one among the mortals can explain—neither by word nor through the mind—the virtue of the Psalms if they are sung not only by the surface of the lips but by the intent mind to the praise of the omnipotent God. If you search with your attentive mind and have arrived at a spiritual understanding, you will find in the Psalms the Lord's incarnation of the Word, and his Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension. In the Psalms you will find a prayer more intimate than anything you can think out by yourself if you search with your intent mind. In the Psalms you will find the innermost confession of your sins and the complete deprecation for the divine grace of the Lord. In the Psalms you will also find the innermost thanksgiving for all things that happen to you. In the Psalms you shall confess your weakness and wretchedness and through this itself you call forth the compassion of the Lord upon you. Indeed you shall find all virtues in the Psalms if you have deserved it of God so that he reveals to you the secrets of the Psalms.[38]

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erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum (Joan. I, 1) carnem dicamus factum [...] et illius sanguis, per quem omnia creata sunt, fusus est pro omnium salute, Apostolo testante, qui ait: *Et sanguis Filii Dei redemit nos (I Joan. IV, 7).* Quae omnia magis fide venerari, quam ratione discutere debemus: quia ubi ratio deficit, ibi fides est necessaria.' Cf. Ganz, 'Theology and the organization', p. 761.

[38] Alcuin, *De psalmorum usu liber*, PL 101, cols 465–66: 'Vox enim psalmodiae cum per intentionem cordis agitur, per hanc omnipotenti Deo ad cor iter paratur, ut intentae menti vel prophetiae mysteria, vel compunctionis gratiam infundat. Unde scriptum est: *Sacrificium laudis honorificabit me, et illuc iter quod ostendam illi salutare Dei (Psal. XLIX, 23).* In sacrificio igitur divinae laudis fit ad Jesum iter ostensionis, quia dum per psalmodiam compunctio effunditur, via nobis in corde fit, per quam ad Jesum veniamus. Dignum quippe est, ut mens a praesentibus universis, in quantum valet, se mundet, et divinis laudibus atque spiritualibus inhaereat, ut coelestia ei revelentur. Nihil est in hac mortali vita, in quo possimus Deo familiarius inhaerere, quam ipsius in laudibus. Nullus itaque mortalium potest nec verbo, nec mente, virtutem psalmorum, si non superficie labiorum tantum, sed intenta mente in omnipotentis Dei laudem canuntur, explicare.'

In psalmis itaque inveniens [*sic*], si intenta mente perscruteris, et ad spiritualem intellectum perveneris, Domini Verbi incarnationem, passionemque, et resurrectionem, atque ascensionem. In psalmis invenies tam intimam orationem, si intenta mente perscruteris,

The point seems to be that praising God with an attentive mind through sung psalmody (*canuntur*) helps to establish a spiritual and theological understanding. The situation to which the text refers is not clear. The preface lists a number of possible uses (nine in all) for the Psalms, seemingly meant for individual prayer. At one point, the quoted passage specifically mentions that the psalms are sung, a passage not apart from the rest of the context. The same situation is found in the treatise as a whole. The individual prayers prescribed and commented in the treatise seem to be ritual in the sense that the prayers are meant to be performed in formalized, prescribed ways; prayer texts and directions (depending on the specific purpose according to the mentioned list) are given. Through the singing of Psalms, the preface claims, one can arrive at the main doctrines of Christianity (specified with reference to the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension) as well as at the most fundamental attitudes of the true Christian (confession and prayer). Even though we are not here faced with a discussion of a public ritual, these devotions must be said to belong to the overall ritual sphere of the Church. They are not private, at least in the sense that they are regulated by authoritative ecclesiastical prescriptions.[39]

Thus, an understanding of the ritual and theological complex of *sung* praises of God (congruent with the thoughts of St Augustine on the *iubilatio* and the understanding achieved through it) seems to be at work during the time at which the formation of the new Frankish-Roman chant and its written transmission began.

Carolingian Music Writing and Ritual

Writing history is mainly an act of the imagination (see the introduction to this volume). Trying to come to terms with a medieval song (known today only through its graphic representations) is to ask *our* questions to the historical item and to construct what to us constitutes meaningful relations between the imagined historical item, the representations through which we know it, and our questions.[40] Hans

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quantum non potes per teipsum ullatenus excogitare. In psalmis invenies intimam confessionem peccatorum tuorum, et integram deprecationem divinae atque Dominicae misericordiae. In psalmis quoque invenies omnium rerum, quae tibi accidunt, intimam gratiarum actionem. In psalmis confiteris infirmitatem tuam atque miseriam, et per id ipsum misericordiam Dei ad te provocas. Omnes enim virtutes in psalmis invenies, si a Deo merueris, ut tibi revelet secreta psalmorum.' The beginning of the quotation is also found in *Diadema monachorum*, PL 102, col. 597.

[39] See a similar argument concerning private masses (based on Alcuin's letters) in A. A. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier* (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1973), p. 335 (including n. 131).

[40] Cf. Nils Holger Petersen, 'Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum: Reading the Words and Music of a Processional Easter Chant', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th Meeting,*

Robert Jauss has pointed to the reflective acknowledgement of *alterity* as a way to reach the modern relevance of a medieval text.[41]

History is not normally thought of as an experimental science, but experimental it is in the sense that reading past phenomena must be done experimentally, trying out ideas in order to see whether they fit the materials (used as sources). To determine, however, to what extent attributes identified by a modern reader in—for instance—a notated version of a melody preserved in a medieval manuscript are products of the questions which have been raised, can only be done with recourse to other modern questions.

Leo Treitler has discussed such historiographical problems in relation to the scholarly reception of the medieval Latin chant reviewing earlier scholarly descriptions and attitudes (e.g. citing Peter Wagner, Paolo Ferretti, Willi Apel, and Bruno Stäblein).[42] Treitler points out how one fundamental interest of the discipline of music history from its 'youth' was to 'assure that we have a subject for the discipline at all, that is, 'Western music', and in fashioning our own cultural self-image.'[43] In other words, music history needed to construct its own beginning, and since the chant of the medieval Latin Church is the oldest known European music it was 'granted the presumptive right to be regarded as the progenitor of European music.'[44] Treitler emphasizes the concern with form in this connection:

> If there is a single word that can express what is for the modern period the essential attribute of 'Western music' throughout its assigned history, that word is 'form', preceded by all its qualifiers (rational, logical, unified, concise, symmetrical, organic, etc.). Nowhere is that plainer than in the titles of the two paradigmatic books on chant already cited: *Gregorianische Formenlehre* and *Estetica gregoriana*.[45]

A deconstruction of music historical ideology in such a way should not prevent new constructions of the music historical significance of the chant. Treitler points to the

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Esztergom & Visegrád, 1998, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2001), pp. 611–24.

[41] Hans Robert Jauss, 'The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature', in *New Literary History*, 10 (1979), 181–229, esp. p. 198.

[42] Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, esp. pp. 103–18 and 211–29.

[43] Ibid., p. 212.

[44] Ibid., p. 105. Compare also n. 4 above, citing an article by Jürg Stenzl. Ibid., p. 219. The mentioned books are by Peter Wagner (1921) and Paolo Ferretti (1934). See also Carl Dahlhaus, 'Formästhetik und Nachahmungsprinzip', in *Klassische und romantische Musikästhetik* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988), pp. 44–49,

[45] Ibid., p. 219 The above-mentioned books are by Peter Wagner (1921) and Paolo Ferretti (1934). See also Carl Dahlhaus, ' Formästhetik und Nachahmungsprinzip', in Klassische und romantische Musikästhetik (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988), pp. 44–49, emphasizing how an abstract form concept came to the fore precisely in the music aesthetics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

necessity of 'sensitivity and vigilance' with respect to the possible ideologies and interests that may (more or less consciously) influence such constructions.[46] He further states as his view:

> There is a story to be told about the creative consolidation of a musical culture in Carolingian Europe, and that story does indeed entail new interactions of music and language that resulted in a different idea of musical form from what is at work in the old chant tradition [...][47]

It may be relevant to point to the politico-cultural policy of Charlemagne, intent on a liturgical reconstruction which—among other things—led to the Franco-Roman chant, as having implied a new level of objectification of the rituals: the attempts at authoritative codifications of all parts of these (including the music) in liturgical books—and along the way also a systematization of these—led to critical editorial work on earlier liturgical books as for instance shown by the complicated Carolingian reception history of the Gregorian sacramentary and Abbott Helisachar's revision of the office antiphoner in the early ninth century.[48]

Graphic representations of chant from around 900—new at the time—represent in pictures what could earlier only be retained in the memory. Performative acts were now represented in discernible shapes through neume notation. At least since St Augustine, a theologically reflected theory of time and history had been available, which in book eleven of his *Confessiones* was exemplified through the discussion of the performance of a *canticum*.[49] This *canticum*, however, as well as any segment of time could only be measured in the mind—using the memory. The beginnings of visual representations of music in the Carolingian era, by contrast, may be constructed as a new departure: it became possible to visualize the intangible and ineffable.[50]

The famous Christmas trope *Hodie cantandus est* (for the introit of the third Christmas mass) composed by Tuotilo of St Gall (dead after 913) probably towards the end of the ninth century is found in its earliest notation in Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 484 (mid-tenth century). It is reprinted in Figs 1–2 showing how the music was visualized by neumes (the musical notation) and thus represented in what may be called a concrete form, not to be taken as a 'musical form' in the

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[46] Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, p. 104.

[47] Ibid., p. 118.

[48] See Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 2 vols (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1971–79), 'Introduction', pp. 61–75; and Levy, 1998, pp. 178–86. See also Grier, 2003, pp. 71–75.

[49] Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*; CCSL 27, 214–16 ('Dicturus sum canticum [...]').

[50] Richard E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Age: Reflections on Its Place in the History of the Middle Ages', in *Speculum*, 64 (1989), 267–306, challenges the importance of the Carolingian period for the periodization of medieval history. The creativity of the Carolingians in tropes and sequences may constitute the most convincing counterargument. Cf. above at n. 15.

later sense but as a physical shape.[51] As visual representations of music were first made, a new possibility to grasp a melody as a unit became available, it could be interpreted as an artefact, discussed, and made demands about. Tuotilo's chants were, indeed, discussed in this perspective—and described as different from other chants—by Eckehard IV (at St Gall) in the earliest preserved statement of such a kind (from the mid-eleventh century) confirming the idea that at Tuotilo's time this did become a possible topic.[52]

The myth of Gregory the Great as the receiver, compiler and/or composer of the chant melodies was primarily propagated by the Carolingians. Its content is formulated in the famous *Gregorius praesul* prologue to some of the early mass antiphonaries (c. 800)[53], but also in the well-known miniature of Gregory dictating melodies to a scribe while receiving them in his right ear from the Holy Ghost in the figure of a dove on his shoulder. This myth is illustrated in the Hartker antiphonary from St Gall close to the year 1000.[54] Through the miniature, the songs used in the liturgy (and notated by neumes) were presented as divinely inspired authoritative entities, received in a perfect hence unchangeable form.

As an introductory trope (since the first part of the eleventh century) for the first Sunday of advent) one finds not only the *Gregorius praesul* text, but also a text reflecting the exact content of the mentioned miniature:

When the most holy Gregory
poured out prayers to the Lord,
that he would give him a musical sound from above in the songs,
the Holy Ghost descended upon him
in the shape of a dove
and enlightened his heart.
Thus he at last began to sing
as he chanted in this way: UNTO THEE, O LORD, WILL I LIFT UP MY SOUL[55]

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[51] Arlt 1995, pp. 50–53, his analysis of the trope, pp. 45–55. Also: Arlt 1999, pp. 155–57, and Björkvall and Haug, 1993, esp. pp. 164–69.

[52] Arlt 1995, pp. 42–43.

[53] See Rankin, 'Carolingian Music', pp. 277–78. As a trope, see *Corpus Troporum, I: Tropes du proper de la messe 1, Cycle de Noël*, ed. by Ritva Jonsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975), p. 102.

[54] Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 390, p. 13; also: Anton von Euw, 'St. Galler Kunst im frühen und hohen Mittelalter', in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter*, pp. 167–204, reprinted p. 195.

[55] *Corpus troporum*, I, 195 (the capitalized text at the end represents the beginning of the introit for the first Sunday of advent):
  Sanctissimus namque Gregorius
  cum preces effunderet ad dominum
  ut musicum tonum ei desuper in carminibus dedisset

Through such musical settings of narratives of representations of the mythology of the Roman liturgy in the Carolingian kingdom it is made clear that ideas of the authority and authenticity of the 'original' Roman chant were not—in practice—seen as obstacles for new combinations of old and new, of seemingly divine and clearly human. The construction of such an introit complex, including this trope, demonstrates how the chant, the outcome of the Carolingian liturgical reforms, marked a transition in the ritualized celebrations of the Church: from participation in the angelic, never-ceasing heavenly praise (as in the *Sanctus* of the mass) to representations of the eternal song in visually tangible forms.[56]

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tunc descendit spiritus sanctus super eum
in specie columbae
et illustravit cor eius
et sic demum exorsus est canere
ita dicendo AD TE LEVAVI ANIMAM MEAM

[56] Cf. Ekenberg, pp. 164–78, esp. p. 177.

Fig. 1: Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 484, p. 13, containing the beginning of the Christmas trope *Hodie cantandus est* (last three lines of the page).

& eundem sub tempore gene

rauit inclyta mater INT

Quis est iste puer quem tam mag

nis preconiis dignum uocifera

tis. dicite nobis ut collauda

tores esse possimus. RESP

Hic enim est quem presagus a'

electus hęremita dei ad terras

uenturum preuidens longe
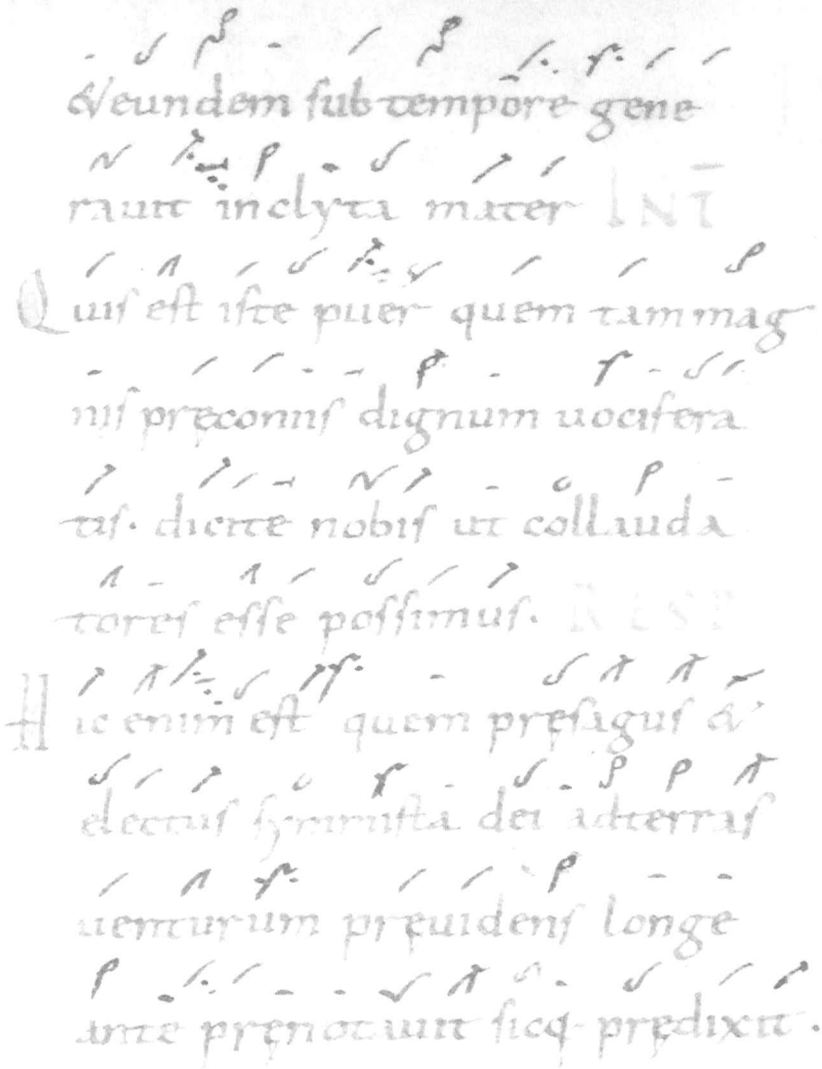
ante prenotauit sicq predixit.

Fig. 2: Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 484, p. 14, the conclusion of the Christmas trope *Hodie cantandus est*.

Roman Theatre and Roman Rite: Twelfth-Century Transformations in Allegory, Ritual, and the Idea of Theatre

DONNALEE DOX

The dramatizations that have accompanied medieval rituals from the tenth century onward have generated extensive studies in the history of theatre as well as in music and liturgy.[1] Points of intersection between medieval Christian and ancient Greco-Roman theatrical traditions have been of particular interest.[2] As Ronald W. Vince noted in 1984, the fusion of classical and medieval traditions in the fifteenth century has been considered the genesis of modern Western theatre and drama since the late eighteenth century.[3]

The modern tendency to draw biblical re-enactments, liturgical dramas and Greco-Roman theatre into the broad category of theatre, however, obscures how medieval minds might have distinguished between Christian performances and the idea of *theatrum* inherited from Christianity's Greco-Roman past.[4] Similarly, the

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[1] For terms used to describe medieval dramatizations, including 'liturgical drama', 'play', 'play of a ritual drama', 'dramatic office', 'liturgical music drama', 'dramatic resurrection ceremony', and 'performance ceremony', see Michal Kobialka, *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. vii and 24.

[2] See William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages: Western European Stage Conditions, c. 800–1576* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 22–45.

[3] Ronald W. Vince, *Ancient and Medieval Theatre: A Historiographical Handbook* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. ix.

[4] On the effects of the Tridentine reforms on modern scholarship, see John Caldwell, 'Relations between Liturgical and Vernacular Music in Medieval England', in his *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 285–99 (p. 286); on the modern tendency to isolate drama from

modern interest in relationships between theatrical performance and ritual blurs what may well have been understood as clear differences between liturgical performance and ancient civic theatre.[5] In this paper, I will make the case that medieval distinctions between biblical re-enactments (liturgical dramas) and the idea of theatre as an ancient pagan practice were significant in the twelfth century, beginning with the tradition of liturgical allegory.[6]

Twelfth-century considerations of performance, drama, and theatre did not run along an axis of ritual and theatre, as they do today, but negotiated a gap between ancient pagan and Christian practices.[7] A comparison of the ways in which ancient theatre was defined and used in the twelfth century reveals conflicting and competing ideas about the value of the classical past, appropriate ritual practice, proper representation of Christian history, and performance as communication. The range of documents discussed here shows the complexity of the idea of theatre in the twelfth century.[8]

One of the most well-known references to Greco-Roman theatre from the twelfth century is the entry *De tragoediis* from Book One of Honorius Augustodunensis's allegorical *Gemma Animae* (1100). Honorius compares the church building to a theatre and the celebrant to a tragic poet or actor which, in the context of modern, Western notions of theatrical mimesis, suggests that the celebrating priest symbolizes, represents, or impersonates Christ.[9] In *De tragoediis*, the priest stretches out his arms as Christ was stretched on the cross, he signifies Christ's silence before he was crucified, and he expresses Christ's cry from the cross in the chanting of the

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liturgy and music, see Andrew Hughes, 'Liturgical Drama: Falling Between the Disciplines', in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, ed. by Eckehard Simon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 42–62 (pp. 43–45).

[5] On ritual in theatre and performance studies, see Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

[6] For the purposes of this paper, I will use the term 'biblical re-enactment' when referring generally to representations of biblical events in ceremonial contexts, including vocal music; I will use the term 'liturgical drama' when referring specifically to dramatizations scripted with dialogue, rubrics, indications of characterization, etc.

[7] See John Wesley Harris, 'From Ritual to Drama', in his *Medieval Theatre in Context: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 23–35.

[8] I will use 'drama' when referring to texts that suggest performative presentation and 'dramatic' to describe qualities, such as heightened emotion, associated with modern theatre. The term 'theatre', in the context of this paper, refers to the theatre buildings and performance practices of the Greco-Roman world as described and transmitted in medieval sources.

[9] For medieval terms such as *representare, representabit personam, designare,* and *esse,* used to indicate registers of representation in biblical re-enactments, see John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 316–18.

Preface. The congregants, having witnessed the triumph of Christ over evil and participated in a banquet, return home rejoicing at the end of the mass:

> It must be known that those who recited tragedies in theaters represented the actions of warriors by gestures to the people. In this same way, our tragic poet [tragedian] represents by his gestures the fight of Christ to the Christian people in the theatre of the Church and teaches to them the victory of his redemption. Thus, when the elder [celebrant] says 'Pray' [the *Orate*] he expresses for us Christ in the position of agony, as when he instructed His apostles to pray. By the silence of the *Secreta* he signifies Christ as a lamb without voice being led to the sacrifice. By the spreading out of his hands he denotes the stretching out of Christ on the cross. By the chant of the Preface he expresses the cry of Christ hanging on the Cross. [...] At the completion of the sacrifice [sacrament], peace and Communion are given by the celebrant to the people because after our accuser has been humbled by our hero [*agonotheta*, 'president of contests', Christ] in war, peace is announced by the judge to the people, and they are invited to a banquet. Then, by the *Ite, missa est* [Go, the Mass is ended], they are instructed to return to their own concerns with joy. They sing the *Deo gratias* [thanks be to God] and may go home rejoicing.[10]

Following O. B. Hardison's influential analysis, Honorius acknowledged in *De tragoediis* what his ninth-century predecessor Amalar of Metz could not: that the mass followed Aristotelian narrative structure, including a *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis*, a catharsis, protagonist and antagonist roles, and mimetic impersonation.[11] Though Hardison's thesis has been revised, the dramatic potential of the medieval mass is widely accepted.[12]

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[10] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Anime*, I, 83 ('De tragoediis'); PL 172, col. 570: 'Sciendum quod hi qui tragoedias in theatris recitabant, actus pugnantium gestibus populo repraesentabant. Sic tragicus noster pugnam Christi populo Christiano in theatro Ecclesiae gestibus suis repraesentat, eique victoriam redemptionis suae inculcat. Itaque cum presbyter 'Orate' dicit, Christum pro nobis in agonia positum exprimit, cum apostolos orare monuit. Per secretum silentium, significat Christum velut agnum sine voce ad victimam ductum. Per manuum expansionem, designat Christi in cruce extensionem. Per cantum praefationis, exprimit clamorem Christi in cruce pendentis. [...] Confecto sacramento, pax et communio populo a sacerdote datur, quia accusatore nostro ab agonotheta nostro per duellum prostrato, pax a judice populo denuntiatur, ad convivium invitatur. Deinde ad propria redire cum gaudio per 'Ite missa est' imperatur. Qui gratias Deo jubilat et gaudens domum remeat.'

[11] O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays on the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 37–79. On medieval subjectivity and mimesis, see David Aers, 'A Whisper in the Ear of Early Modernists; or, Reflections on Literary Critics Writing the "History of the Subject"', in *Culture and History 1350–1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing*, ed. by David Aers (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), pp. 177–202 (pp. 178–80); and Karl F. Morrison, *I Am You: The Hermeneutics of Empathy in Western Literature, Theology and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 172–73.

[12] Glynne Wickham reiterated the idea that liturgical allegory conceived 'the Church as a

The interpretation of *De tragoediis* as 'a language of dramatic criticism', however, tempers the religious focus of the mass by casting its representational power in artistic and literary terms.[13] In this modern sense, drama has positive value as a consciously constructed form of expression, to the extent that 'dramatic' frequently describes medieval texts perceived to be emotionally moving, heightened, narratively powerful, or written with characters in dialogue.[14] But folklorist Richard Bauman's point that any attribution of performance invokes a wide range of meanings is well taken. A medieval analogy between theatre and ritual must, therefore, consider the conventions of theatre and drama engaged in the metaphor.[15] The dominant image of *theatrum* in medieval thinking invoked entertainments such as games, athletic contests, and forensic debates drawn from sources such as Isidore of Seville's widely circulated *Etymologiae* and tempered with an Augustinian suspicion of theatre, plays, and performers.[16]

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theatre for the re-enactment of Christ's triumph over sin and death', see *The Medieval Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 12 and 33. David Bevington reproduced *De tragoediis* as an example of medieval theatricality, see *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), p. 9. William Tydeman agreed that the mass was 'thought of in dramatic terms' and represented 'eternal truths by means analogous to those employed in drama', see *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 187. For the theory's literary bias, see Vince, *Ancient and Medieval Theatre*, pp. 24–30. For a recent treatment of *De tragoediis* as evidence of a link between theatre and ritual, see Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 25–26. For a contrasting reading of *De tragoediis* in monastic power relations, see Michal Kobialka, *This is My Body*, pp. 150–51.

[13] Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, p. 291.

[14] See for example, Joseph R. Jones, 'The *Song of Songs* as a Drama in the Commentators from Origen to the Twentieth Century', in *Drama and the Classical Heritage: Comparative and Critical Essays*, ed. by Clifford Davidson and others (New York: AMS Press, 1993), pp. 29–51.

[15] *Folklore, Cultural Performance and Popular Entertainment*, ed. by Richard Bauman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 48.

[16] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 2 vols, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911). Book 15 includes theatre with '*De aedificiis publicis*', including gymnasia, equestrian arenas, amphitheatres, and labyrinths as places for for viewing spectacles and theatrical scenes. Book 18, *De bello et ludis*, describes mime, dance, and recitation on raised platforms. Theatre shares characteristics with forensic debates (ch. 15), athletic competitions (ch. 17), wrestling matches (ch. 24), gladiatorial contests (ch. 27) and chariot races (chs 35 and 36). For Isidore's picture of ancient theatre, see Joseph R. Jones, 'Isidore and the Theatre', in *Drama in the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays*, ed. by Clifford Davidson and John H. Stroupe (New York: AMS Press, 1991), pp. 1–23 (p. 16). For a contrasting argument, see Jody Enders, *Rhetoric and the Origins of Medieval Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), esp. pp. 80–85.

Miri Rubin reminds us that a language of religion 'is always in dynamic process, bound by its expressive possibilities and enacted in the various claims articulated through its use'.[17] Taking *De tragoediis* out of a language of dramatic criticism and theatre history is a step toward exploring the ideas that gave this classical allegory relevance for twelfth-century readers.[18] The analogy with classical theatre in *De tragoediis* marks some of the most pronounced intellectual changes occurring by the beginning of the twelfth century, most notably the influence of the mechanical arts tradition, the importance of pastoral communication, and the centrality of corporeality in eucharistic theology, as well as a more nuanced and varied idea of the value of ancient theatre.

The *Prooemium* to Amalar's *Liber officialis*, on which Honorius relied, famously describes the Eucharist in language that has also suggested dramatic mimesis, though without the specific references to theatre, a theatre building, and an actor found in *De tragoediis*:

> [...] the priest is like Christ, as the bread and liquid are like the body of Christ. So is
> the sacrifice of the priest at the altar therefore like the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.[19]

Through allegory, Amalar explains the theological complexities of Christ's sacrificial death and resurrection by describing how the ceremonial commemoration of the Last Supper assures the immediacy of Christ's presence and promise of salvation. In the celebration of the Eucharist, the body of the priest extends the historical body of Christ into the present moment, just as the eucharistic elements extend the promise of Christ's mystical, risen body. The liturgy, so interpreted, becomes a method of scriptural exegesis, a way of presenting the scriptural accounts of Christ's death and resurrection.

Amalar also identified points in Christian ritual where participants re-enact biblical events, a different mimetic register, to assist in understanding the scriptures. Allen Cabaniss notes in particular the Easter observance of Mary Salome, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the Virgin discovering Christ's empty tomb described in the *Liber officialis*. Priests and deacons process down the aisle in an attitude of modesty, as if they themselves were the three women walking toward Christ's tomb. Amalar

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[17] Miri Rubin, 'The Eucharist and the Construction of Medieval Identities', in *Culture and History 1350–1600*, pp. 43–63 (p. 44).

[18] Stephen G. Nichols explores the late twentieth-century interest in teasing out variations in medieval representations and with attention to differences as well as continuities between medieval, classical, and Renaissance mimesis. See 'The New Medievalism: Tradition and Discontinuity in Medieval Culture', in *The New Medievalism*, ed. by Marina S. Brownlee and others (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 1–26 (pp. 1–2).

[19] 'Quapropter similis sit sacerdos Christo, sicut panis et liquor similia sunt corpori Christi. Sic est immolatio sacerdotis in altari quodammodo ut Christi immolatio in cruce.' Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis*, 'Prooemium', § 8; in *Amalarii Episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. by John Michael Hanssens, 3 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1970), II, p. 14.

transforms the Gospel account into a living example of proper Christian behavior, a practice that will be familiar and unremarkable in the twelfth century.[20] In Cabaniss's translation:

> And we, after the example of those women devoted to God, so often as we enter the church and approach the heavenly mysteries, ought to enter with humility and fear both because of the presence of angelic powers and because of reverence for the holy oblation.[21]

As Cabaniss points out, this description of the approach to the empty tomb prefigured the tenth-century *Quem quaeritis* dialogue, which is generally considered the earliest evidence of liturgical drama.[22] A century before the rubrics for Easter matins appeared in the *Regularis concordia* and four centuries before the Fleury playbook isolated dramatizations from their ritual contexts, Amalar had identified the spiritual value of presenting the scriptures by embodying the actions they describe.[23]

But while modern history finds in Amalar's allegories hints of modern drama, in the ninth century the thought that Christian practices might resemble ancient pagan theatre raised the spectres of polytheism, false representation, lascivious and irreverent behavior, and worldly materiality.[24] Amalar's use of pagan sources and imaginative invention of allegories had warranted criticism.[25] But more precise were concerns that the focus on the performance of the liturgy would detract from the words written in the Gospels as the source and authority of Christian faith. Allegorical interpretations such as Amalar's, which emphasized objects, actions, and

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[20] Allen Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1954), p. 55, See *Liber officialis*, libellus I, ch. 12. § 36, in Hanssens, II, pp. 80–81.

[21] Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, pp. 63–64; See *Liber officialis*, libellus III, ch. 26, §§ 9–13, in Hanssens, II, pp. 346–47.

[22] The literature on the *Quem quaeritis* is vast. A summary, with a caution against reading modern criteria for realism into medieval texts, is in David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 252–55. For relationships between the texts of the Fleury Playbook and liturgy, and argument for the *Visitatio* offices as ritual, not drama, see C. Clifford Flanigan, 'The Fleury *Playbook*, the Traditions of Medieval Latin Drama, and Modern Scholarship', in *The Fleury* Playbook: *Essays and Studies*, ed. by Thomas P. Campbell and Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), pp. 1–25, esp. pp. 3–5.

[23] Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, pp. 64–65.

[24] For allegory and paganism, see Rainer Warning, *The Ambivalences of Medieval Drama*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 32, 34; John Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 72–75; Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, pp. 14, 31–2, 42; compare with Michal Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, pp. 108–09.

[25] Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, p. 90.

visual imagery, could be perceived as legitimizing past or present pagan practices, one of which was theatre. Archbishop Agobard of Lyons emphasized the centrality and authority of the scriptures in *De Antiphonario*, and in his comment on St Jerome warned against liturgical practices that encouraged songs and scenarios of the theatre.[26] The importance Amalar placed on physical action and visual imagery rather than Scripture as carriers of meaning also raised theological issues which transgressed the stable relationship between the ritual presentation of Christian history and the mystical significance of the historical event.

Amalar's allegorical interpretation of the chalice, paten, and altar as representing different aspects of Christ raised theological concerns about the perception of Christ's body as fragmented.[27] Deacon Florus, also of the Lyons diocese, argued that the body of Christ could not be made material or be divided.[28] As Rainer Warning has highlighted, the theological issues raised by Amalar's allegorical interpretations were no less than the figuration of Christ's sacrifice, the status of Christian history in the present, and the way in which Christ's suffering was understood and presented as a guarantee of salvation.[29] The controversy over Amalar's interpretations may have

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[26] '[...] eos vero qui theatralibus sonis et scenicis modulationibus.' *De Antiphonario*; Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaeualis (hereafter CCCM) 52, p. 345; *Liber de correctione antiphonarii*, PL 104, col. 334c. See Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, p. 86. For the more recent argument that Agobard's goal was to remove from the Antiphonal all texts not of biblical origin and not to attack Amalar specifically in the *Liber de correctione antiphonarii* (which does not mention Amalar by name but has been interpreted as a criticism of his *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*). For questions of authorship of the *Contra libros quatuor Amalarii*, see Wolfgang Steck, *Der Liturgiker Amalarius: eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zu Leben und Werk eines Theologen der Karolingerzeit*, Münchener Theologische Studien, I (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 2000), p. 161, n. 761; for a full discussion, see L. Van Acker's Introduction to *Agobardi Lugdunensis. Opera omnia* in CCCM 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), pp. xx–xxxvii. Amalar's allegorical interpretations did redirect attention from the scriptures to the performance of the liturgy as a demonstration of scriptures. The concern of this paper is how that emphasis evoked the idea of theatre (implying stagings in the Roman tradition) in the ninth century and theatrical mimesis in the twentieth.

[27] 'Docet praeceptor ipse Amalarius egregius, ita corpus Christi esse triforme et tripartitum, ut tria Christi corpora.' See Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, pp. 87–88. On the Fraction rite, see Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, pp. 74–76. See also Florus, *Opuscula adversus Amalarium*, I, 4; PL 119, col. 74b.

[28] 'Prorsus panis ille sacrosanctae oblationis corpus est Christi, non materie vel specie visibili, sed virtute et potentia spirituali'. Florus, *Opuscula Adversus Amalarium*, I, 9; PL 119, col. 77d.

[29] Rainer Warning, *Ambivalences of Medieval Religious Drama*, p. 34; Cabaniss, *Amalarius*, pp. 87–88. On the Fraction rite, see Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, pp. 74–76. On Amalar's commitment to the actions as well as the words of the liturgy, and Florus's criticisms, see William T. Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1999), pp. 117–21. For Amalar's defense of

been an early symptom of the later debate at Corbie over the relationship between Christ's body and the ceremonial bread. Paschasius Radbertus would propose that the bread became Christ's body in the ritual commemoration of the Last Supper, against Ratramnus's argument that the ritual evoked Christ's body but did not make it physically present in the bread.[30] Though the debate would not be resolved until 1215 in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, Paschasius's inquiry into the relationship between *figura* and *veritas* and Ratramnus's effort to preserve the interplay between sacramental signs and Christian faith suggest the complexities already emerging from the effort to establish the meaning of Christian rituals.[31] In the ninth century, the idea of theatre as a pagan practice carried with it a strong stigma, and the interpretation of the mass as a kind of performance raised equally serious concerns about the accurate representation of the meaning of the scriptures.

That the twelfth-century *Gemma animae* drew heavily on the writings of Amalar, is irrefutable. Amalar had treated the ritual of the mass as an object for scriptural exegesis, and many of Honorius's allegories do the same. The analogy in *De tragoediis*, however, is an anomaly. Honorius's use of ancient, pagan theatre as a model for the presentation of the mass would seem transgressive. Augustine's warnings against theatre as a carnal, demon-ridden, and inherently false practice of the Romans continued to fortify the border between Christian worship and anything that looked like pagan theatre in the twelfth century. Differences between those who would preserve the pure Roman core of the Rite and others who (motivated by pedagogy, ceremonial creativity, or reform) sought to expand the significance of the liturgy in the twelfth century addressed the relationship between performance and the spiritual significance of the ritual directly.[32] Theatre was still evoked as a distinctly non-Christian practice, as it was in the criticisms of Amalar. When reformers such as Gerhoh of Reichersburg and Aelred of Rievaulx railed against liturgical embellishments as distractions from reverent worship, Greco-Roman theatre thus provided a familiar template for describing unChristian behavior, as it had for Agobard three centuries earlier.

Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093–1169) complains that priests are not properly dedicated to the Church's ministry but 'turn the churches themselves, the houses of

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allegory as an ancient method, see Christine Schnusenberg, *Das Verhältnis von Kirche und Theater: dargestellt aus ausgewählten Schriften der Kirchenväter und liturgischen Texten bis auf Amalarius von Metz* (Las Vegas: Lang, 1981), 156–60.

[30] Rubin, 'The Eucharist and the Construction of Medieval Identities', p. 45.

[31] For the debate, its documents, and its repercussions, see Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 210–15.

[32] On criticisms by John of Salisbury and Aelred of Rievaulx of liturgical practices as inappropriately dramatic and distracting in their performativity, see Timothy J. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style according to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 23–24.

prayers, into theatres and fill them with feigned spectacles of plays'. His concern is that liturgical dramas might have a deleterious effect on Christians. 'What wonder, therefore', he asks, 'if these are also now acting Antichrist or Herod in their plays, do not pretend in play, as is their intention, but show in reality, seeing that their behaviour is not far from the disordered behaviour of Antichrist?'[33] For a reformer like Gerhoh, the act of imitating the behaviors of biblical figures such as Herod or the Antichrist, transfiguring oneself in a demon mask, creating false imagery, or pretending to be someone else in the course of presenting a liturgical drama might compromise the character of an individual, encourage sinful impulses, and obscure the 'true face' of the Church.

With a different concern, the Cistercian Aelred of Rievaulx (*c.* 1166) criticizes singers who imitate 'the agonies of the dying and the terror of those enduring eternal torment.' These exaggerated gestures, he complains, are like those of actors in the ancient theatres: 'the lips twist, the eyes roll, the shoulders heave, and at every note the fingers are flexed to match'. Here the issue is not compromised behavior but the distractions of liturgical embellishments.[34] If Christians were in danger of losing sight of the sacred and sacramental aspects of the liturgy in the excesses of performance, the idea of theatre (with Augustine's stigma attached to it) remained a sign of that potential blindness.

The idea of embodying biblical events as a method of understanding the scriptures was less an issue than it had been for Amalar. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), as Mette Birkedal Bruun details in her discussion of his sermon on the Palm Sunday procession, considered contemplative embodiment a useful method for better understanding Scripture. For Bernard, experiencing Christ's entry into Jerusalem as an event taking place in the immediate, material world have value for *insipientes* or *saeculares* who understood according to the flesh, and for *sapientes, spirituales* and *carissimi* who understood according to the spirit.[35]

But in contrast to the use of theatre as a negative criticism of liturgical practice, John of Salisbury (d. 1180), whose antipathy for liturgical excesses is well known, compared ancient theatre with the everyday lives of Christians.[36] For John the daily

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[33] Brief excerpts from *De Investigatione Antichristi*, Book III (*c.* 1161) are translated in William Tydeman, *The Medieval European Stage*, pp. 113–14 as representative of the Church's view of theatrical activity. The passage, 'De spectaculis theatricis in ecclesia dei exhibitis' is reprinted in Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1933), II, 524–25.

[34] McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, pp. 23–24; *Speculum Charitatis*, in PL 195, col. 571.

[35] Mette B. Bruun, 'Procession and contemplation in Bernard of Clairvaux's first sermon for Palm Sunday' in this volume. For the ambiguity of interpreting this and similar ceremonies as mimetic drama based on their musical characteristics, see Stevens, pp. 318, 360–61.

[36] For John's understanding of Roman drama, see H. A. Kelly, *Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 78–79;

life of Christians (to which Honorius's congregants joyfully return after the mass) was as false as the ancient theatre. For him, the multitudes of people in the courts around him are like the crowds in an ancient stage comedy. He judges a life lived in service of earthly things no more real than a performed comedy in which a person forgets his own role and acts out another's.[37]

But John, like Honorius, also values ancient theatre and understands it as legitimate performance. Unlike Gerhoh and Aelred, he finds the Roman theatre, expecially that of Terence, superior to the entertainment his own time has to offer. Compared with the theatres of Romans, contemporary entertainment lacks intellectual sophistication and skill in performance. If ancient actors reproduced fact and fiction 'by the magic of gesture, of language, and of voice', the performances of his day offer only trivial 'delights' to the eyes, ears, and heart; 'romances and similar folly' which (as Augustine had also discovered in Carthage) 'inflame wantonness' and give 'incentive to vice'. [38] For John, music, story-telling, and singing divert people from true Christian virtue and license idleness. Such entertainments are at best suitable only for occasional indulgences in 'reasonable mirth'. John's target is not liturgical practice but the indecent and rude spectacles otherwise dignified men invite into their homes.[39] For John (as for Augustine) the debauched theatre of his day marks the moral decline of the culture in which he lives.

What made the tragic theatre of the ancient world a useful illustration in the *Gemma animae* and what purposes did it serve? The analogy in *De tragoediis* is itself the conservative move of a reformer. But *De tragoediis* assumed that the legacy of the pagan past could be pressed into service of Christian worship, and this positive reference to pagan theatre generated no apparent criticism by the early twelfth century. In this context, the image of ancient pagan theatre makes *De tragoediis* less an interpretation of the mass as a version of Scripture (in the traditional threefold scheme of prefigurement, fulfillment, and ritual actualization or as rememoration) than an explanation of how the mass was effective as a whole ceremonial unit.[40]

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and Rodney Thomson 'John of Salisbury and William of Malmesbury: Currents in Twelfth-Century Humanism', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3, ed. by Michael Wilks (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 117–25 (p. 118).

[37] *Johannis Saresberiensis, Policraticus I–IV*, ed. by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM 118 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), pp. 190–91.

[38] CCCM 118, p. 53.

[39] CCCM 118, pp. 53–54.

[40] On liturgy as exegesis, see Marie Anne Mayeski, 'Reading the Word in a Eucharistic Context: The Shape and Methods of Early Medieval Exegesis', in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. by Lizette Larson-Miller (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), pp. 61–84 (pp. 63–64).

Despite the modern tendency to treat *De tragoediis* as a development of the *Liber officialis* toward conscious performativity in liturgical practice, the case can also be made that Honorius chose ancient theatre as an analogy to highlight very *different* aspects of Christian ritual than Amalar had perceived. If a priest is akin to an ancient tragedian reciting in a theatre, as well as a participant in a commemorative ceremony, the analogy implies a different mode of representation than the ritual re-enactments described in Amalar's description of the Easter service or the liturgical dramas emerging in monasteries and cathedrals by the early eleventh century. What positive purposes, then, did ancient theatrical tragedy serve in this analogy that the conventions of liturgical drama or ceremonial biblical re-enactments could not?

One purpose may have been to illustrate the structure of the mass as a cohesive experience rather than as a series of independent rituals or events. Liturgical dramas, as Nancy van Deusen has observed, were not bound together as tight dramatic narratives. Their combinatory structure did not require a causal plot, central theme, or genre characteristics of comedy or tragedy for their pedagogical effect or emotional affect.[41] Short pieces were sufficient to illustrate the scriptural foundations for individual parts of a liturgy (such as shepherds arriving at the manger or the three Marys at the empty tomb) without expectations for conflict followed by narrative resolution. The form of church *ludi* thus did not readily lend itself to a description of the mass as unified, whole and complete in itself. Honorius likely accepted liturgical re-enactments as an integral part of Christian rituals but used *De tragoediis* to set the Christian worship service itself in relief against another, less familiar mode of presentation.

The analogy with ancient theatrical tragedy also allowed Honorius to lift the mass out of its eternal sacredness and present it as a human construct. He grounds its form (if not its content) in the world of the earliest Christians and, like John of Salisbury, presents the theatre of the ancient world as a model for the present day. Tragedy, as a narrrative genre, offered Honorius both the intellectual weight of a classical reference and a way to present the mass as a sequential chain of events moving from struggle to victory and celebration. The idea of ancient theatre allowed Honorius to describe the priest at the center of a 'stage', rather than the processional staging of a liturgical drama.

Honorius's analogy also relied on theatre's association with the everyday entertainments of the ancient world as transmitted (in detail, if not with accuracy) in available sources such as the *Etymologiae*. Honorius surely did not intend *De tragoediis* to evoke theatre's equally well-known associations with prostitution or to suggest that the mass (like the Christian image of Greco-Roman theatre) was a mendacious performance of lewd acts that mocked Christians. Like John, Honorius

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[41] Nancy van Deusen, *The Harp and the Soul: Essays in Medieval Music* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1989), pp. 78–85. For the Aristotelian relation of part to whole during and after the twelfth century, see Karl F. Morrison, *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 175–76.

invoked the idea of ancient theatre as a dignified venue for poetic recitation, and relied on the medieval notion of ancient theatrical performances as competitions, presided over by a judge (Christ in the allegory). Though the idea of a priest representing Christ with a pagan tragedian's gestures would have sent Augustine to the edge of reason and Amalar to the brink of liturgical propriety, *De tragoediis* can be thought of as part of a reclamation of Greco-Roman theatre into the Christian intellectual tradition as a product of human craft and as a legitimate social activity.

Within twenty-five years of the *Gemma animae*, ancient theatre would enter Christian pedagogy in Hugh of St Victor's catalogue of the mechanical arts, the *Didascalicon*. Theatre is mentioned in the context of practices which can align an individual's ethics and, through mental and physical discipline, allow a person to become like God.[42] Hugh would recast ancient theatre, its oft-repeated associations with prostitution, perfidy, and mockery notwithstanding, as cathartic physical labour and an alternative to drinking houses, brothels, and other sites of 'lewd and criminal acts':

> [...] not that a theatre was the only place in which entertainment took place [in the ancient world] but it was a more popular place for entertainment than any other. [...] Moreover, [the ancients] numbered these entertainments among legitimate activities because by temperate motion natural heat is stimulated in the body and by enjoyment the mind is refreshed.[43]

Honorius's own classification of the *artes mechanicae* did not include theatrics along with painting and sculpture.[44] Nevertheless, *De tragoediis* unapologetically posits the mass as an activity through which participants could achieve a closer likeness to God and which provided a physical as well as spiritual release. As the mechanical arts became valuable expressions of Christian belief and as theatre was integrated into the mechanical arts for its value as a cathartic recreational activity, Honorius could easily interpret ancient theatre as a fair comparison for the artifice and collective effort involved in the mass. Christian worship could be understood as a product of human invention. On these grounds, ancient theatre could be construed as an entirely appropriate analogy for the demonstration of God's history playing out in the material world and an assertion of the importance of human craft in representing that history.[45] *De tragoediis* implies that human invention functioned at the

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[42] C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 259–61. For theatre in the mechanical arts tradition, see Glending Olson, 'The Medieval Fortunes of *Theatrica*', in *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion*, 42 (1986), 265–86.

[43] *Didascalicon*, II, 27; *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St Victor*, ed. and trans. by Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 79.

[44] *De animae exsilio*, in PL 172, col. 1245.

[45] For Honorius's materialist orientation see M. D. Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. and trans. by

intersection of the natural world, the spiritual world, and the world of human invention without the theological problems that had plagued Amalar three centuries earlier.

The *Gemma animae*'s immediate purpose was to describe the ceremonial contexts for the sermons Honorius had set down in the *Speculum ecclesiae*. Both compilations were designed to aid practising Benedictine priests in their work with the laity (book one is subtitled 'Concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Ministry of the Church').[46] As part of the larger effort to reform Benedictine preaching and increase its role in lay communities, as well as returning worship practices to the *romana sobrietas*, Honorius chose an analogy that could foreground the function of the priest and his effective communication with his congregants.[47] If the mass was a product of human invention, in the emerging pedagogical tradition of the mechanical arts, the priest became part of an elaborate craftwork in service of Christian truth. The church became his space of display, like the semi-circular *cavea* and raised platforms of the Roman theatres. At the altar he became the visual focal point, like the ancient tragic poet or masked *historione* miming the actions of imaginary or historical characters.

Honorius only goes as far into the comparison with ancient theatre as suits his Christian purpose, stopping short of describing details of the ancient theatre such as masks, cothorni, raised stage, or *cavea*. He is not proposing innovations in liturgical practice but constructing images priests might use as models for their own bodies and voices as they celebrate the mass. The analogy with ancient theatre allows him to focus on the priest as the conduit of meaning and to emphasize the overwhelming effect a priest could have on a congregation of faithful Christians—a focus well suited to the goals of clerical reform within the Order and increasing clerical influence with the laity. The full impact of the mass as described in *De tragoediis* is not the Eucharist but the congregation's return to the concerns of daily life—food, shelter, work, sustaining a family, social interaction, and, especially, contributing to the Church.

The final benediction sends people away filled, not emptied or purged. Whereas Amalar answered the question 'Quid est namque "Ite missa est"' with the idea that the mass offered its participants spiritual peace, for Honorius 'Ite missa est' means,

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Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 26. Honorius's reliance on Anselm on the issue of corporeality is discussed in John Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy*, p. 105; and Peter Dronke, *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1988), p. 450.

[46] For Honorius's enthusiasm for Benedictines' rights to administer pastoral care and his propensity for encouraging their ministry to the poor and disenfranchised, see Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg', II, no. 6, pp. 6–15 and 24–30.

[47] For twelfth-century reforms, see Anscar J. Chupungco, 'History of the Roman Liturgy Until the Fifteenth Century', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies,* ed. by Anscar J. Chupungco, 5 vols (Collegeville, MN.: The Liturgical Press, 1997), I: *Introduction to the Liturgy*, pp. 131–52 (p. 148).

literally, the permission to leave at the end of a meeting.[48] To be effective, the twelfth-century mass must be experienced in its entirety, until 'Ite missa est' releases the congregants from the church and from the ritual. The structure of the ritual, following Honorius's analogy to theatrical performance, mirrors Christian eschatology—watching and listening for the end of time, the end of days, the moment of release in death that signifies eternal life in Christ. The goal of the celebrant's 'performance' is to send congregants back out into world of daily cares with the assurance of Christ's active presence and promise of salvation.

The analogy between ritual and classical theatre in *De tragoediis* thus functions very differently from Amalar's suggested likeness between the priest and Christ as the Eucharist is celebrated. Honorius is concerned with the priest as a sign; there is a likeness between the priest and Christ only insofar as the priest gives Christ a temporary human form as a supplement to the ceremonial bread. Honorius's analogy does not suggest, as does Amalar's, a spiritual or theological connection between priest and Christ.

Important changes in eucharistic theology in the mid-eleventh century had increased the importance of the physical presence and comportment of the celebrant. Berengar of Tours in the 1040s had added new dimensions to the ninth-century debate at Corbie. Berengar's conclusion that the Eucharist symbolized, but could not itself be, Christ's body demanded ecclesiastical attention. Lanfranc had countered with the argument that the priest's ceremonial consecration of the eucharist elements transformed them into the true body of Christ, in what Honorius refers to as 'the silence of the *secreta*', and in the prayers of the canon. Between 1059, when Pope Nicholas II established that the eucharistic elements were indeed the physical body and blood of Christ in substance and the doctrine of Transubstantiation in 1215 followed by the institution of the Elevation in 1216, the Eucharist emerged as the central symbol of the Christian 'sacramental world-view'. During this period of theological transformation, as Miri Rubin points out, numerous guidebooks emphasized the details of ceremonial performance with the aim of coordinating gestures, vocal delivery, and rubrics with the new power claimed for the sacramental bread, and 'it was of the utmost importance that [the host] be handled, contained, addressed, cared for and consumed as befitted this divine nature'.[49] The Church's priests became the host's exclusive handlers.[50]

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[48] Marcel Metzger, 'A Eucharistic Lexicon', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, III: *The Eucharist*, pp. 1–8 (p. 3); *Gemma animae*, I, ch. 111 'De Agnus Dei'), in PL 172, col. 581b; Amalar *Eclogae de ordine Romano*, 32, in Hanssens, III, pp. 263–64.

[49] Rubin, 'The Eucharist and the Construction of Medieval Identities', p. 47.

[50] Rubin, 'The Eucharist and the Construction of Medieval Identities', p. 46. For a summation of the ninth-century debate at Corbie and its repercussions in the eleventh century, see Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition 400–1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 73–74 and 166–67. See also Richard Southern, 'Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented*

At the beginning of the twelfth century, this gradual shift in the status of the host as a material object had yet to develop into the cultural system Rubin observes. But Honorius was an active participant in synthesizing new philosophical trends as well as part of the larger twelfth-century project to codify Christian beliefs and practices.[51] His analogy between the church and an ancient theatre in *De tragoediis* marks these gradual changes in eucharistic theology and ritual practice (such as the Elevation) that would eventually make Christ's real presence visible. The analogy with theatre—as a human craft—suggests precisely a move toward making the celebration of the Eucharist with the priest as its focal point a 'carefully designed audio-visual event' that offered Christians 'release and ecstasy'.[52]

The priest need not, indeed cannot, go too far in his role of Christ, as Hardison wondered, because Christ's body has been located in the host.[53] '*Tragicus noster*' is not in the same relationship to the historical Christ as the host is to the risen Christ, as in the *Proemium* of the *Liber officialis*. Nor does the analogy necessarily posit the celebrant an Aristotelian copy of Christ, but as a Platonic representation, an inadequate human imitation of an ideal referent, Christ. Honorius reverses the Augustinian position that theatre, the product of an anti-Christian culture, could not represent Christian things. Honorius does not present the priest, in *imitatio Christi* or as an actor trying to affect a likeness to a character. Rather, the priest is presented as an actor in the ancient sense—a tragic poet, telling an already familiar story in prescribed gestures.

De tragoediis has been considered a move toward the acceptance and integration of ancient theatre into medieval Christian representational practices, prefiguring sixteenth-century theatrical innovations and reinforcing an anthropological link between ritual and theatre. Despite its seeming transparency in the context of modern notions of dramatic structure and theatrical mimesis, however, Honorius's use of Greco-Roman tragic theatre as an analogy for the mass resonated with several trends in twelfth-century thought. Like John of Salisbury, Honorius gives ancient theatre (in addition to tragedy and comedy) a positive value in Christian thought. As a metaphor for the performance of the mass, theatre gives practicing priests an image on which to base their own, individual communicative techniques (vocal and gestural). As a

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to Frederick Maurice Powicke, ed. by R. W. Hunt and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), pp. 27–48. For a summary of explanations for the emergence of the elevation of the host in the liturgy of the mass, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 55.

[51] For the systematic interpretation of the mass and its performance in the twelfth century, including *Ordo missae* and the works of Rupert of Deutz, William of St Thierry, and John Beleth, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 52.

[52] Rubin, 'The Eucharist and the Construction of Medieval Identities', p. 50

[53] Hardison asked how far the celebrating priest went in taking on the role of Christ toward a dramatic imitation of character and the extent to which the congregation was conscious of its role-playing function in the mass. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, p. 78.

metaphor for the structure of the mass, theatrical tragedy focuses attention on the end of the mass as a transition from the representational conventions of the ritual to the world of daily experience.

In the context of new and controversial ceremonial practices in the early twelfth century, *De tragoediis* posits not an expansion of the mass into spectacle, theatre, or mimetic acting but emphasizes the precision with which the essence of the Christian ritual must be performed and interpreted. As C. Clifford Flanigan, Kathleen Ashley, and Pamela Sheingorn have argued, the medieval Roman rite cannot be contained in a simple definition of liturgy. The mass was also a social performance, engaged in people's lived experience as well as in the aesthetics of religious belief.[54] The use of ancient theatre also draws attention to the mass as a human construct, an artifice of man's efforts that replicates God's world. As it functioned in the early twelfth century, the analogy in *De tragoediis* challenges, rather than reinforces, modern notions of dramatic structure and theatricality and conventional distinctions between ritual, drama, theatre, and genre in the European Middle Ages.

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[54] 'Liturgy as Social Performance: Expanding the Definitions', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2001), pp. 695–714 (pp. 696–97).

Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons for the Liturgical Year: A Literary Liturgy

WIM VERBAAL

Literature and Liturgy

Nowadays, people hardly perceive the all-pervasive influence of liturgy on the life of medieval man. Especially after the practical consequences of the Gregorian reform had become effective, the liturgy of the medieval Church tended to form a sort of *basso continuo* accompanying all human actions with just as many variations on the same basic theme. It cannot be a wonder, then, that no expression of the medieval mind is free from liturgical elements and that in almost all fields liturgy offers the breeding ground of the most diverse cultural phenomena. The importance of liturgy for the development of drama, of architecture, of the plastic, and musical arts may be considered a well-known fact. Its influence on the birth and growth of literary genres has also often been noticed. One might, for example, consider the liturgical origin of the lovesongs of William IX, the first troubadour, or its importance in the *roman courtois* of Chrétien de Troyes. The initial process of deritualization, however, which this presupposition implies, has not yet received the attention it deserves.

Since liturgy consists of a more or less fixed sequence of ritual acts, every change, even the slightest adaptation or borrowing into a secular context, could be considered as a deed of sacrilege, endangering the fragile human dependence on divine clemency. Although liturgy may not be considered as limited to some sort of magic ritual which allows man to exercise authority over supernatural powers,[1] this aspect,

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[1] See 'Introduzione generale' in Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, 4 vols (Milano: Editrice Àncora, 1959–69), I (1964), 5: 'Una concezione della liturgia, che non

nonetheless, can never have been far off for lay people attending mass. The popular derivation, be it real or supposed, of the magic spell *hocus-pocus* from the consecratory formula of the Eucharist *Hoc est enim corpus meum* may account for this. As soon as liturgical elements are taken out of their sacralized context, they may lose their ritual charm: they become desacralized, bereft of their magic authority and, weakened as they are, they will be open to mockery and parody.[2] This is essentially the way in which liturgy inspired student-like texts such as those collected in the *Carmina Burana*, i.e. mock-versions of well known liturgical texts and sequences. In these, liturgy offers the material for literary elaboration, the literary game and pleasure being the ultimate goal, and liturgy submits to the demands of literary taste.[3]

One could, however, imagine another way of fusing liturgy and literature, in which what is striven for is not the desacralization of liturgy but rather the preservation in a literary form of its most typical characteristics, its sacralized nature, and its magic charm.[4] This would, then, imply the sacralization of literature, turning

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vedesse se non la veste esteriore, rischierebbe di degenerare in un ritualismo vuoto, fine a se stesso, che richiama e somiglia al formalismo magico delle religioni pagane' ('A concept of liturgy which only takes into account its exterior garment, risks to degenerate into an empty ritualism, becoming an aim in itself, recalling and even comparable to the magical formalism of the pagan religions').

[2] See the chapter on 'Liturgical Parody' in Martha Bayless, *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 93–128.

[3] This results also from the definition given by Paul Lehmann in his fundamental book *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963), when he says: 'Die Parodie, wie ich sie auffasse, ist eine besondere Art literarischer Nachahmung' (p. 2) ('The parody, as I understand it, is a specific sort of literary imitation'). The specific literary character results from the invective against certain customs, events, or persons: 'Ich verstehe hier unter Parodien nur solche literarischen Erzeugnisse, die irgendeinen als bekannt vorausgesetzten Text oder—in zweiter Linie—Anschauungen, Sitten und Gebräuche, Vorgänge und Personen scheinbar wahrheitsgetreu, tatsächlich verzerrend, umkehrend mit bewußter, beabsichtigter und bemerkbarer Komik, sei es im ganzen, sei es im einzelnen, formal nachahmen oder anführen' (p. 3) ('Here I consider as parodies only such literary works that imitate or introduce in formal ways a text considered to be well-known or—secondly—opinions, customs and traditions, events, and persons the imitation of which is apparently faithful but in fact distorted or overturned, aiming at a conscious, purposeful, and clear comic effect, be it as a whole or in its parts'). In liturgical parody, liturgical structures or texts are submitted to the demands of literary parody; i.e. in order to succeed in its parodic goals, liturgy must become literature—detached from its living context in a textualized shape.

[4] To my mind, these aspects do not wholly comprehend the nature of liturgy, which is much more complicated to define, as one may see from the long expositions dedicated to it in two of the most voluminous works on liturgy, Mario Righetti's *Storia liturgica*, esp. 'Part I', I (1964), 1–100 and Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe*, 2 vols (Wien: Herder, 1962; first edition 1948), esp. I, 225–33. Both

it into liturgy, and the submission of literature to the requirements of liturgic ritual and meaning. A new sort of literature would be developed, not a rendering of reality, but rather in itself a new, higher reality. Literature would not remain an aim in itself. The message it transmits would not refer to something outside of it. It would rather constitute the inner core, the 'sacrament' of its literacy. It would not primarily convey its meaning by its words but rather reveal the secret of its raison d'être in the repeated act of reading. Literature would have become liturgy as 'the worship rendered by the Mystical Body of Christ in the entirety of its Head and members'.[5]

This definition of liturgy has three components; the 'public worship rendered to the Father' by the 'Redeemer as Head of the Church', as well as by 'the community of the faithful through Him'.[6] Still according to the encyclical *Mediator Dei*, this worship can be rendered 'whenever their pastors can summon a little group of the faithful together: they set up an altar on which they proceed to offer the sacrifice, and around which are ranged all the other rites appropriate for the saving of souls and for the honor due to God'.[7] More explicitly stated later in the encyclical, and of the highest importance in the twelfth century, is the central place of the Eucharist, in which the 'true and proper act of sacrifice must be seen, whereby the High Priest by an unbloody immolation offers Himself a most acceptable victim to the Eternal Father, as He did upon the cross'.[8]

In brief, transforming literature into liturgy implies the erection of some sort of altar, around which a community of faithful can be gathered and which constitutes the centre for the appropriate rites for the worship of God—and on which, finally and fundamentally, the sacramental sacrifice of the Divine Word can be commemorated in an unbloody revival of that very act.

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characteristics may be considered merely rather rough outlines under which the most essential elements of the liturgical event could be considered. For a more elaborated definition of the 'sacralization', see Jungmann.

[5] To use the wording of 'Mediator Dei: Encyclical of Pope Pius XII on the Sacred Liturgy', 20 November 1947, § 20, by which, to my opinion, the most fundamental properties of Christian liturgy are summarized, that is, a worship shared by one community and consisting of an actively felt presence of the object of worship, i.e. Christ as the second person of the Trinity, i.e. the divine Word and wisdom. I want to stress the difference between the sort of literature meant here and liturgic literature, which consists of texts treating liturgical subjects.

[6] 'Mediator Dei', § 20. See Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, I, pp. 225–26: 'es ist eine Feier, in der der Dank der Erlösten zu Gott emporsteigt' ('it is a celebration, by which the gratefulness of the redeemed ascends towards God'); and Righetti, *Storia liturgica*, I (1967), pp. 8–9.

[7] 'Mediator Dei', § 22.

[8] 'Mediator Dei', § 68.

The Birth of a Magnum Opus

The aim of this article is to show that this is exactly what Bernard of Clairvaux strove for, creating a literary liturgy, creating texts in which the liturgical sacrament is performed as 'an unbloody immolation' of the Redeemer by the hands of his priest. It will be argued that Bernard does not aim at some symbolical or metaphorical performance, but that his purpose is to celebrate the sacrifice of the Eucharist by and in his texts by the deliberate use of the different manifestations of the divine Word. We will limit ourselves to the *Sermons for the Liturgical Year*, though it must be stressed that they do not constitute his only attempt. In fact, Bernard's entire literary corpus could be characterized as an attempt to perform through and in his texts the liturgical sacrament of the Eucharist, when understood as some proto-concept of transubstantiation, i.e. the fusion of the divine nature with the earthly elements.[9] However, to identify this for instance in the *Sermons on the Song of Songs* would demand a more delicate in-depth approach than the limits of an article allow.[10] The *Sermons for the Year*, on the other hand, display a more obvious link to liturgy, which allows one to pass over some of the more rudimentary questions that could be asked about the relation of text and rite, the written and orally delivered preaching.[11]

The first question which presents itself, then, is whether Bernard's collection of liturgical sermons shows any differences from other such collections, as they were composed either long before him or by his contemporaries. The traditional model is provided by the homiliary as compiled by Paul the Deacon for Charlemagne (782–86),[12] which was widely spread and used during all the Middle Ages in Western Europe. In the Cistercian congregation itself the night office homiliary was

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[9] Bernard lived in the aftermath of the eucharistic polemic of the eleventh century; the final definition of transubstantiation, however, was not reached until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[10] A more detailed study of the *Sermons on the Song of Songs* from this perspective was part of my PhD thesis 'A Divine Tragedy: Triumph and Defeat in the Word by Bernard of Clairvaux' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Ghent, 2000).

[11] The *Sermons for the Year* present themselves as a collection of homilies and sermons preached during the liturgical year—most of them probably were, in some form or other. This is, however, a delicate question as the collection contains texts referring to solemnities for which the Cistercian liturgy did not provide a proper preaching, while other celebrations which acquired a preaching according to Cistercian customs are passed over in silence. This problem will be treated in my forthcoming book (preliminary title: *Giving Birth to the Word*, (Brepols, forthcoming 2006). For the actual link between the written and the oral sermon, see my article 'Réalités quotidiennes et fiction littéraire dans les *Sermons sur le Cantique* de Bernard de Clairvaux', in *Cîteaux*, 51 (2000), 201–18.

[12] Pierre Salmon, *L'office divin au Moyen Âge I: Histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IXe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), p. 28, n. 3.

composed on the basis of this very collection.[13] This, of course, corresponds to the preference given by the young congregation to the most authentic texts and ecclesiastical traditions.[14]

Perhaps for the same reason the night office homiliary is also structured according to traditional ecclesiastical principles, distinguishing the Temporal from the Sanctoral, as was and still is the usual practice.[15] A similar division was also retained, for example, by Peter Abelard when composing his homiliary for the Paraclete.[16] Another sequence, however, could be imagined, giving the sermons their chronological place within the liturgical year. It does not seem, however, to have been the most obvious choice, because it was not or hardly ever made.

This point can be of importance in the understanding of Bernard's liturgical collection. As the history of the collection shows, Bernard took a long time considering the best way to organize his sermons. Thanks to the meticulous research of Dom Jean Leclercq in his edition of Bernard's works, it is now possible to follow almost step by step the creation of his personal literary heritage. The development of the liturgical series is especially revealing. At least four subsequent versions are known to have developed over a time span of ten to fifteen years, the first one dating

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[13] Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Liturgical Dimension of Twelfth-Century Cistercian Preaching', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching,* ed. by Carolyn Muessig, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 90 (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1998), pp. 335–49, esp. p. 342. Also Réginald Grégoire, 'L'homéliaire cistercien du manuscrit 114 (82) de Dijon', in *Cîteaux*, 28 (1977), 133–207.

[14] The most obvious proof of this Cistercian pursuit of authenticity may be offered by Stephen Harding, the third abbot of Cîteaux, in his attempts to restore the authentic Vulgate text, the authentic Ambrosian hymnary, and the authentic Gregorian chant. See Michael Casey, '*Exordium*, un programme d'étude sur la tradition cistercienne, qui fut proposé aux communautés cisterciennes durant l'année du 9ème centenaire de la fondation de Cîteaux: Unit 2'; and 'The Founders of the "New Monastery"', p. 29;

<http://www.rc.net/ocso/Exordium/exordium.htm> (Vulgate). As regards the hymnary, cf. *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal,* ed. by Chrysogonus Waddell (Kentucky: Gethsemani Abbey, 1984). I have examined the entire pursuit of authenticity in my book *Een middeleeuws drama: Het conflict tussen scholing en vorming bij Abaelardus en Bernardus* (Pelckmans: Kapellen, and Klement: Kampen, 2002), pp. 152–55.

[15] The Temporal covers the entire year and includes all the high points of Christian liturgy, starting with Advent and continuing after Pentecost with the Sunday masses. The Sanctoral contains all the solemnities of the saints (including the Marian solemnities). This part was open to divergence between the different dioceses, according to the locally venerated saints.

[16] See the only full edition to date by Victor Cousin, *Petri Abaelardi Opera,* 2 vols (Paris: Durand, 1849), I, pp. 349–595, reprinted in PL 178. To these thirty-four sermons can be added some other texts which did not, however, belong to the Paraclete compilation. See John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 78, n. 80.

from around 1138, the last belonging to the final years of Bernard's life (1150–53).[17]
They show Bernard as an author, who is continuously occupied with and reflecting
on the structure and quality of his most voluminous sermon collection.[18]

Four kinds of changes can be distinguished in the several revisions. First, a
considerable augmentation of the number of sermons that are included, the first
version counting forty texts, the last one 128.[19] Secondly, the concept of the entire
structure itself changes, Bernard hesitating between the traditional division into
Temporal and Sanctoral, and the rather unusual chronological continuity which
characterizes the first and the last versions. Thirdly, the texts themselves are
completely reworked, especially during their first revision which in many cases
results in an almost entirely new text.[20] Finally, as perhaps the most telling change
from a modern point of view, sometimes the order of the sermons within the year has
also been changed. The sermons on the Dedication, for example, are transferred from
their initial position between Saint Michael's Day and All Saints' to a position after
All Saints' Day.[21]

This last change should make one pause. A transfer of the sermons for a specific
service does not imply, of course, that this ceremony itself was given another place
in the liturgical calendar. Yet, as a writer, Bernard apparently felt himself not only
able but also authorized to revise the calendar as he liked. For the sermons on the
Dedication the solution could be found elsewhere too. Originally, they had been
written to commemorate the Dedication of the convent church at Clairvaux, which is

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[17] See especially the introduction to the edition of the *Sermones per annum* in *Sancti
Bernardi Opera*, ed. by J. Leclercq, H.-M. Rochais, and C. H. Talbot, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones
Cistercienses, 1957–77), IV, 125–59. References to this work below will be in the form *SBO*,
volume number (year).

[18] Several articles by Jean Leclercq have been dedicated to this problem. Most of them are
collected in the five volumes of his *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits* (Rome:
Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1962–92; referred to below as Leclercq, *Recueil*, volume
number (year)), e.g. 'S. Bernard éditeur d'après les sermons sur L'Avent', Leclercq, *Recueil*,
II (1966), pp. 291–309; 'L'art de la composition dans les sermons de S. Bernard', Leclercq,
Recueil, III (1969), pp. 137–62; 'Sur le caractère littéraire des sermons de S. Bernard',
Leclercq, *Recueil*, III (1969), pp. 163–210; 'S.Bernard écrivain d'après les sermons sur le
psaume "Qui habitat"' Leclercq, *Recueil*, IV (1987), pp. 107–22.

[19] For an elaborated presentation of the different collections see *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 132–
44, although notice must be taken of the incompleteness of the third collection, L, as given by
the editors on pp. 135–36.

[20] See *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 152–53 and other studies by Jean Leclercq, dedicated to the
problem of Bernard's editorial work, e.g. his 'S. Bernard écrivain d'après les sermons sur le
psaume "Qui habitat"' *Recueil*, IV (1987), pp. 107–22.

[21] The respective order in the collections M and Pf. See *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 133–34 and
138.

celebrated on 13 October, which falls between Saint Michael's and All Saints'.[22] In the end, however, these same sermons, without considerable changes, were taken to commemorate the Dedication of Saint John of Lateran, i.e. 9 November, thus after All Saints'. This implies that the same texts were bereft of their local significance and limitation to a specific monastery, and given a more universal sense, Saint John's being considered the mother of all churches. This will be of importance if we are to understand the narrative line within Bernard's sermon collection.

On one occasion, however, Bernard really interferes with the chronology of the calendar. His sermon on the transition of his friend Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, who died in Clairvaux on the night of All Souls', was allotted a place between the sermon for Saint Clement (23 November) and the Vigils of Saint Andrew (29 November). The community commemorated Malachy's death, however, on 3 (later 5) November.[23] Apparently, this position of the text did not suit Bernard's aims with his collection. It did not fit into the narrative structure of the sequence as a whole.[24]

These last examples may suffice to prove that Bernard's collection of liturgical sermons is not simply a textual translation of the liturgical year as it may be said of the traditional homiliaries. Thus, whereas both the Cîteaux night office homiliary and the Paraclete homiliary contain a chain of unrelated texts associated with the different services of the liturgical year, Bernard's collection exhibits an overarching conceptual unity which to some extent is independent of the chronology of the liturgical year.

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[22] The construction started in 1135, and the church was finished and dedicated in 1138. See Robert Fossier, 'L'essor économique de Clairvaux', in *Bernard de Clairvaux: Commission d'histoire de l'ordre de Cîteaux* (Paris: Editions Alsatia, 1953), pp. 95–114, esp. 101–03. As well as the 'Tables chronologiques' p. 592 (1138).

[23] David Hugh Farmer, 'Malachy', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 257–59, esp. p. 258. Also Jean Leclercq, 'Documents on the Cult of St.Malachy', in *Seanchas Ardmhacha (Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society)*, 3 (1959), 318–32; reprinted in Leclercq, *Recueil,* II (1966), pp. 131–48, esp. p. 131 and pp. 142–43.

[24] The same could be the case for the sermon on Humbert's death which closes the collection. On the date of Humbert's death a double tradition survived within the Cistercian congregation. His death was dated 7 September or 7 December. See Elphège Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard abbé de Clairvaux* (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1895), II, 392, n. 1; and Gerhard Winkler, *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Sämtliche Werke Lateinisch/Deutsch* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1997), VIII, 26. The last date, however, could be a correction to make the place of the sermon fit in the chronological sequence.

Stories in a Year

A new question must, then, be asked. If Bernard did not feel obliged to respect the actual chronology of the liturgical year whenever it did not meet his purposes as an author, which criteria did the collection have to obey? Or, to employ the basic theme of this paper, what is the narrative structure of the collection? What is the story he wants to tell the reader?

In spite of the continuous revisions of the collection some recurrent narrative lines can be recognized. The first, of course, is the liturgical story of Christ. It commemorates the earthly life of the Redeemer. As a story it is developed from Advent to the Ascension and as such it can be found in the earliest version, though here it has a small appendix in one sermon for Pentecost and two sermons for Peter and Paul (29 and 30 June).[25] This seems the most natural way of reading a homiliary, being simply a translation of the liturgical year into a literary parallel. It cannot yet be called anything other than a piece of liturgical literature.

In the subsequent revisions, this initial narration does not disappear, of course, the life of Christ being the foundation of the ecclesiastical year. However, another narrative line, which is developed from but also remains inside the basic story emerges. It is the spiritual story of the divine Word, in which two parts can be distinguished: the material existence of the Word (being the life of Christ and covering the period from Advent until Ascension) and its spiritual existence (being the workings of the Spirit which start with Pentecost). This story does not end with the return of Christ to heaven. It continues even after Pentecost, as it tells the story of the Church as well as that of every human being.[26] For this reason, the collection of liturgical sermons has to continue beyond the limits of the first version. All the later revisions indeed cover the entire liturgical year.[27]

These later collections remain founded on the liturgical reading as it follows the events in the life of Christ and the commemoration of the most important personalities and events in the history of the Church. Yet more and more the

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[25] See the enumeration in *SBO*, IV (1966), p. 132 (short collection, B).

[26] This same narrative line can be distinguished in the first collection, B, in which the liturgical element somehow seems to have been less decisive than it is in the second revision, M. The implication of the liturgical event for every human being seems to have been more important to Bernard. I have worked out this theme and its variations as well as its consequences for the interpretation of both the liturgical sermons and the sermons on the Song of Songs in *Giving Birth to the Word*.

[27] See the enumerations in *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 133 (intermediary medium revision, M) and 138 (final revision, Pf). For the intermediary long revision one has to consult the original article on which the introduction of *SBO*, IV is based, as the enumeration given in *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 135–36 is incomplete. For this collection, see Jean Leclercq, 'La tradition des sermons liturgiques de S. Bernard', in *Scriptorium*, 15 (1961), 240–84; reprinted in Leclercq, *Recueil*, II (1966), pp. 203–60, esp. pp. 217–18.

emphasis is put on the double implication of Christ as the divine Word. In the last version many texts are introduced which treat the textual significance of the Word, not only as the initial expression of God's will, incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ and later withdrawn into heaven, but even as the inspiring force of the Spirit, still and always working through and in the Church and even more strongly in the Bible. Texts such as the sermon for John the Baptist, the first sermon for Peter and Paul, the sermons for the fourth and sixth Sunday after Pentecost, all introduced shortly after the conclusion of the story of the Word incarnate, treat the problems of acting according to the Word, of living with the Word. In this way they intensify the themes developed in the first half of the collection.[28]

Thus the double structure of the *Sermons on the Song of Songs* becomes visible. In the first half the marriage is treated, i.e. the joining of the Groom with his Bride. For Bernard this signifies in the first place the reincarnation of the Word, its descent into the soul of the reader. In the second half the resultant motherhood is treated, i.e. the fertility of the Bride and Mother, when the Word radiates out from the life of the reader, when, that is, the reader has become fruitful in the Word thanks to his reading and incorporating it. This signifies an even further descent of the Word into the world surrounding the reader. The links between the two sermon collections appear to be much closer than has hitherto been supposed. In fact both address what may be characterized as the central concern of Bernard's writing: how to make the wording of the Word fruitful? How to pronounce the *sermo vivus et efficax*, 'the living and powerful word'?[29] This may be recognized as the theme of one of his first independent works, the four homilies on the Annunciation, and it still constitutes the theme of his last works such as the *Life of Malachy* as well as his liturgical sermon collection.[30]

This second spiritual narrative line, the story of the Word, evokes yet another narration, which brings us back to a more earthly and material storyline, the story of human life. After all, the liturgical year in its continuity recalls human existence from birth to death. By telling the story of the marriage and motherhood of the soul in the Word, Bernard strengthens the link between the liturgical year and human life, by giving each of them a spiritual sense. Thus his sermons tell the story of the different stages in life: first, conception and embryonic state, birth, childhood, adolescence and the growth to consciousness (from Advent to the conversion of

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[28] Again this complex of interconnections between the story of the Word, of Christ, and of the Spirit can already be distinguished in revision M, in which the theme of the entire first half consists of the question of how to read names, signs, and sacraments. In the second half (from Pentecost onwards), two themes become central: the fertility in the Word (sermons concerning the Virgin) and the construction of the spiritual building. For an elaboration of this see my forthcoming book on Bernard's sermons, *Giving Birth to the Word*.

[29] See Hebrews 4. 12, a passage which is very often quoted by Bernard in all his writings.

[30] An analysis of Bernard's paradigmatic treatment of the reading process appeared in *Collectanea cisterciensia*, 65 (2003), 111–36 and 193–221 in the article 'Annoncer le Verbe'.

Paul); second, adulthood with inner labour, followed by maturity, inner ripeness and outward labour and fruitfulness (from Purification to the nativity of the Virgin); and finally, old age with the defeat and final victory of the spiritualized body (from Saint Michael to the commemoration of Humbert's death).[31]

Bernard's *Sermons for the Liturgical Year* thus contain a complicated interaction between different developments. The stories of Christ, of the working of the Spirit, and of human life converge in a unity suggesting a re-reading of the reading process itself. The fusion of all these elements into one narrative whole has important implications for the relationship between literature and liturgy in the sermons, as will be shown after a closer look at the way in which Bernard weaves these different threads.

Experiencing Time

For the moment all attention is directed to one specific aspect, which is rooted in the interaction of the different narrative lines and structures as they are developed in the sermon collection and which supports the liturgical significance of this collection: the approach to time.

The structure of the collection's narrative threads just mentioned reveals at least three time levels. The first and most obvious approach would be to regard the collection in its liturgical time sequence. Here, the sermons must be considered as a continuous series, following, and translating into text, the ecclesiastical year. In fact, this might be considered an ancient transformation and sacralization of the natural cycle of the year. The corresponding time concept is cyclical and based on repetition and return. At the end of each year the cycle closes, to start once again from the beginning.

The second approach is almost as traditional and equally sanctified by ecclesiastical custom. It sees a parallel between the liturgical year and common human experience. It also represents the individual story as the eschatological story of mankind.[32] In this case the sermons not only draw a textual parallel with the natural cycle, they also tell the story of man's terrestrial existence. This story,

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[31] This division of the collection is not the only one which can be recognized. Its development betrays a much higher complexity of organizing principles, taking into account liturgical and exegetical elements as well as elements concerning the growth of a community. I will return to these in *Giving Birth to the Word*.

[32] See Righetti, *Storia liturgica* (1969), II, 1. As a matter of fact, the interiorization of the liturgical year as an individual experience fits in perfectly with the well-known spiritual current of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Reform of the Liturgy from a Renaissance Perspective', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert Benson and Giles Constable (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 88–109, esp. pp. 98–99.

however, has an end and a beginning. Its time concept is linear and progressive, allowing no return. It begins with conception and ends in death.

The third approach is less apparent and results from internal elements, which have often been noticed but from which no conclusion has yet been drawn as regards the concept of time. Bernard's liturgical sermons show continuous cross-references to liturgical events at other moments in the year. Augmenting the basic liturgical intertextuality, he continuously links the different ceremonies during the year by citing texts from their particular liturgy. Especially the sermons on the Ascension are closely connected to the event of Advent and of the Nativity. The ascent and descent of Christ are almost presented as one and the same event, the Nativity implying the Passion and the Resurrection, just as the Ascension implies the Nativity.[33] The story of the divine Word and its Incarnation encompasses the entire existence of Christ, whose single words and deeds evoke all the others, as there is no division possible in the divine nature of the Son, not even a division in time. At the level of the divine Word, time has disappeared and is replaced by eternity, which may be considered as the simultaneity of each single event. Its time concept can be characterized as being punctiliar, encompassing all at the same moment.

These three time levels or time concepts correspond to the three narrative levels mentioned above. They show a strong hierarchic structure, going from the lowest, the natural level, but in a sacralized form, to the highest, divine level. Yet they do not seem to have much contact with each other. They appear as three independent strata, answering different interpretative faculties of the readers. For this reason, in order to reach his readers in a more uniform way, Bernard had to go further.

For yet a fourth approach to time can be distinguished, which prevents the different interpretative layers from diverging. In this approach we have to do primarily not with nature, man, or God, but with the author and his writing capacities. In fact, it is important with this particular sermon collection to remember that it was presented as a *written* work in the first place. The way one reads it, the way the services are presented, the references made to other liturgical events or to human life are all directed by the writer who has complete freedom to arrange everything according to his wishes.[34] This gives him the opportunity to approach

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[33] Compare John 3. 13: 'No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven'. English translations of the Bible are quoted according to the King James Version which comes closest to the Latin text used by Bernard. See Righetti, *Storia liturgica* (1966), II,. 5 where he stresses that the entire liturgical year centres around the mystery of Easter: 'Si potrebbe anzi dire, che la celebrazione del mistero pasquale forma un unico ciclo che abbraccia l'intero anno liturgica' ('One could also say that the celebration of the Easter mystery constitutes a unique cycle which encompasses the entire liturgical year').

[34] See, for example, my analysis of Bernard's twenty-sixth *Sermon on the Song of Songs*, which will appear in *Disputatio* I, *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. by Georgiana Donavin, Cary J. Nederman, and Richard Utz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). Pp. 113–40.

time entirely in his own way. For when time can be considered punctiliar at a divine level, enclosing everything simultaneously, then time can also be rearranged in view of the purposes of the writer, as long as he does not diverge from the story of the Word. The time concept becomes non-chronological, even anti-chronological, though it remains enclosed within the story as it is told and for this reason it obeys the claims of the text, i.e. of the author. An example will make this more clear.

Incarnations of the Word

The three *Sermons for the Annunciation* (25 March) developed slowly into the unity they form in the final version.[35] According to the liturgical sequence, they are situated between the *Sermons for Lent* and those for Easter.[36] They might thus form a transition from one liturgical part to another. And indeed, this transition can be recognized in the compositional arrangement of the whole block to which they belong. The *Sermons for Lent* open with the *Sermons for the Purification*, in which the central theme consists of the procession to the Temple. In the *Sermons for Lent* themselves the central theme is given by a slow but steady progressive movement, which is especially developed in the seventeen sermons on Psalm 90. The *Sermons for Lent* close with the *Sermon for Saint Benedict*, which connects the themes of movement (alluding to the Palm Sunday procession) and fruitfulness. Then come the *Sermons for the Annunciation*, immediately followed by the *Sermons for Palm Sunday*, in which another procession is elaborated. So, the entire block is characterized by the idea and development of movement, beginning and ending in a ritual procession.[37]

Between the movement contained in the *Sermon for Saint Benedict* and the movement of the Palm Sunday Procession, the *Sermons for the Annunciation* are situated as a prelude to the event of Easter, while at the same time crowning the

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[35] The oldest collection B contains only the first sermon for the Annunciation (referred to below as Ann I). In the intermediary collection M both Ann I and II appear, but they do not form a unity; they are separated by four other sermons, of which, in the final collection, three were to constitute the unity on the Purification, whereas the last was to be added to the sermons on the Assumption. It was not until the final revision, Pf, that the unity of the Annunciation was put together and completed by yet another sermon, Ann III. See *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 132–40 as well as Jean Leclercq, 'La tradition des sermons liturgiques de S. Bernard', in *Scriptorium*, 15 (1961), 240–84; reprinted in Leclercq, *Recueil*, II (1966), pp. 203–60. For the text, see *SBO*, V (1968), pp. 13–42.

[36] In the collections they take this chronological position only in B and, after the final revision, in Pf. In the intermediary collection, M, they are positioned at the beginning of the Sanctoral. See *SBO*, IV (1966), p. 133.

[37] For the significance of the liturgic movement and of the procession in particular, I refer to the article by Mette B. Bruun in this volume.

penitential movement of Lent. In these sermons a divine movement is evoked, i.e. the descent of the Word and of the Spirit into the human world. This is the divine (hence timeless) response to the period of penitence and of labour in Lent.

The first sermon opens with the question about the sense of the Easter- and Redemption-service (1–5). The answer is given immediately: the redemption is provoked by the fall of man on earth (6–8). In a long allegoresis on Psalm 85. 10: 'Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other,'[38] Bernard develops a possible solution for this apparently hopeless situation (9–14). By his own fault, man has fallen into the power of sin and death. Only another man who remains free from sin could break the vicious circle by the voluntary sacrifice of his own innocent life. Truth and mercy search for the innocent soul on earth and in heaven but they cannot find a soul free from sin and full of charity. Peace, however, knows the solution: He who gave the counsel may lend assistance. The wisdom of God will have to become man and die to release mankind.

In the second sermon the descent of God's wisdom is evoked in the descent of the Holy Spirit into Christ. First it is explained why it had to be the Son who became man and mediator between mankind and God (1–2). Then the descent of the Spirit in Christ is described in an exegesis of Isaiah 11. 1–3: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots: And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of piety and he will be filled by the spirit of the fear of the Lord' (3–5).[39] The verse itself, however, is only given at the end, as the completion or confirmation of Bernard's words in the sermon.

The third sermon has a very peculiar structure. It begins with an emphasis on the force which man can draw from the Word of the Bible (1), and only then enters into the different stories which may have been read during the offices, i.e. the story of the adulteress (John 8. 5–11) and the story of Susanna (Daniel 13. 20–22).[40] It is important to consider somewhat more closely the way in which these stories appear as a whole within the narrative structure of the sermon. First, Bernard retells the story of the adulteress (2–3). He dwells largely on the significance of the words of Jesus for any of his own listeners, but then he asks them and the reader to follow the Pharisees, and especially two of the oldest ones, when they leave Christ after being

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[38] Psalm 84. 11 in the Vulgate: 'Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi; iustitia et pax osculatae sunt.'

[39] I have made slight adaptations to the King James Version in order to make it conform to the Latin text to which Bernard refers.

[40] According to the combination of these two pericopes in the sermon, Jean Leclercq ventured to date its original delivery to the 25 March 1150. See *SBO*, IV (1966), p. 128 and *SBO*, V (1968), p. 34. The value of such chronological references in the sermons is rather ambiguous, as most of them (even in the liturgical series) have been reworked. See Jean Leclercq, 'La tradition des sermons liturgiques de S. Bernard', 240–84; reprinted in Leclercq, *Recueil*, II (1966), pp. 203–60, esp. 207, n. 1.

defeated by his words. He sees them steal into a garden, the garden of Joachim, in which the innocent Susanna is taking a bath. Now he expands largely on the hypocrisy of the Pharisees and on the danger of judging the innocent too quickly (4–6). Only then does he broach the theme of the whole series of sermons, directing his focus to the Annunciation to the Virgin (7–10). In fact, only at a few places in these sermons has the Virgin been touched upon. She appears only at the end to close the series, as the culmination of the inner development of the sermons.

As a unity the three sermons show a highly sophisticated structure. Both of the central themes which have been touched on before are now developed. First, the theme of movement, constituting something of a leitmotiv for the whole of Lent, is elaborated in these three sermons in which the divine movement itself is depicted. The sermons open in heaven with the discussion on the best way to liberate man from death. Then the movement is introduced, starting in the descent of the Spirit and coming to an end in Christ incarnate, the 'new and true man' (*novus homo et verus homo*).[41] Simultaneously, an ascending movement can be detected in the last sermon: first, the adulteress, mankind captured by sin, receives the mercy of the Word;[42] then, the endangered innocence is vindicated in the Word;[43] and finally, she who is without sin, pure and humble receives the Word itself.[44] Thus we are presented with a narrative of the sinful man made innocent through the mercy of the Word; purified and thus innocent, protected by the truth and justice of the Word, man is shown opening and receiving the Word in humble recognition of the justice done to him. Man is lifted upward in a movement toward the descending Word.

The other theme is that of time. If one looks in depth at the time concept of these sermons, they immediately show what is meant by a punctiliar time concept and its anti-chronological consequences in narrative time. From the very start, end and beginning are closely joined. The sermons open on the redemption of Easter, but this is right away linked to the fall of man, after which the history of mankind finds its natural coronation in the incarnation of the Word, which is the other side of redemption. Fall of man, Annunciation and Easter are presented as one in the heavenly world in which the divine decision of the Incarnation is made.[45]

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[41] Ann II. 5 in *SBO*, V (1968), p. 34.

[42] The leitmotiv in the first part of the sermon is God's *misericordia*. See esp. Ann III. 3 in *SBO*, V (1968), pp. 36–37.

[43] The leimotiv in the second part is God's *iustitia*, see esp. Ann III. 5 in *SBO*, V (1968), pp. 37–38.

[44] The most important characteristic of the Virgin is her humility, which conforms to Bernard's description of Mary in his four homilies on the Annunciation (referred to below as Miss), which he wrote almost thirty years before this sermon. See Ann III. 8–9 in *SBO*, V (1968), pp. 40–41 and Miss I. 5–8 in *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 17–20.

[45] The connection is already made in the opening paragraphs of sermon 1–4 in which eternal life is opposed and at the same time connected to the earthly origins of mankind and its natural inclination to sin. The link is constituted by the redemption, consisting in the passion

Yet, departing from this punctiliar and divine time concept, another chronological standard is developed by the narrator. In an indefinable way the allegoresis in heaven and the descent of the Spirit meet our earthly experience of time.[46] This changes in the last sermon where the ascending movement of mankind is described. Here, earthly time is treated in a non-chronological way. First, there is the appearance of the Word incarnate tempted by the Pharisees. Then, and in one and the same narrative sequence, follows the story of Susanna endangered by the very same Pharisees who have just been defeated by Christ.[47] And only after the justification of the innocent Susanna, the angel is sent to the Virgin to announce to her the Incarnation of the Word. Earthly chronology, which may be considered the same as biblical chronology here, is completely overturned. The narrator has become the directing force who can arrange time as he likes, because of the simultaneity of everything in the divine time concept.

The ascent of man to meet the descending Word as depicted in the last sermon, can only begin after the divine Word itself has descended to earth in order to show mercy on sinful man. This means, however, that the Word is already present on earth before the angel descended to announce his birth to the Virgin, and that she, who is addressed by the angel at the end of the sermon, is not the same as the mother who must have given birth to the Word incarnate that had mercy on the adulteress in the first paragraphs of this same sermon. The entire sermon nevertheless forms a narrative unity, owing to the role played by the Word throughout the sermon and to the active guidance of the reader by the author. First, the divine Word has to write in silence on the ground (*for out of it wast thou taken*)[48] that man may repent by the

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and resurrection of Christ. See Ann I. 1–4 in *SBO*, V (1968), pp. 13–15.

[46] This is especially true for the actual allegoresis on Psalm 84. 10–11, which is elaborated in Ann I. 9–14 in *SBO*, V (1968), pp. 22–29, although this part is situated in heaven. So one would rather expect a timeless, eternal treatment here. Of course many theological deductions could be made from this overturning of time concepts by Bernard. I think one of the most important ones is the interwoveness of heavenly and earthly regions, since the natural sequence on earth is of heavenly devising, whereas the earthly order only acquires its significance for man when considered from the viewpoint of the heavenly Word.

[47] The continuation of the narrative is strongly stressed by Bernard: 'Sed consideremus, fratres, quonam hinc abeant Pharisaei. Videtisne duos senes—nam a senibus exire coeperunt—quomodo in pomerio Ioachim absconduntur? Susannam quaerunt uxorem eius; sequamur eos, nam iniqua cogitatione pleni sunt contra eam.' Ann III. 4 in *SBO*, V (1968), p. 37 ('But let us consider, my brethren, where the Pharisees are going. Do you see those two ancients—because they went out, the eldest first—how they hide themselves in the garden of Joachim? They look for his wife, Susanna. Let us follow them, for they abound in evil thoughts against her').

[48] Genesis 3. 19.

force of his silent speaking and that he must become innocent and humble to receive the Word itself.[49]

The Easter-Redemption will remain senseless until the descending Spirit meets with a human soul in which mercy has provoked innocence, justice has provoked strength and gratitude and in which humility is open to receive the Word Incarnate.

The Liturgy of Literature

I hope to have shown that Bernard's collection of *Sermons for the Liturgical Year* can be labelled literature. It is not just a compilation of occasional texts, presenting one out of the innumerable possible interpretations of the several liturgical solemnities of the year. On the contrary, in Bernard's hands it has become a compact and complete, self-contained entity, telling one story on many levels, which are fused and moulded into one narration by the intention and rhetorical capacity of the author.[50]

If the *Sermons for the Liturgical Year* are defined as literature, liturgy has become literature, differing perhaps only in genre from the parodic liturgical literature of the *Carmina Burana*. But the purpose has been to show that in these texts literature also had become liturgy. In what sense may these texts be considered something other than literature? In what sense can they be called liturgy? Where is *the altar on which the pastor can proceed to offer the sacrifice for the group of faithful summoned around it?*[51]

In the sermons for All Saints' Day Bernard defines what the altar is: 'Now, as far as I know, the altar, about which we have to talk, appears to me to be nothing other than the body of our Lord the Saviour'.[52] So, for Bernard the altar is the body of the Word made flesh. But according to his sermons for the Annunciation, we must distinguish the Word incarnate before and after the Annunciation. Afterwards, it is

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[49] In Ann I. 12, when the virtues bring their plaints before the divine judge, his first act is to stoop down and to write with his finger on the ground (*SBO*, V (1968), p. 26). The descending movement of the Spirit and of the Word in the first two sermons thus has the same beginning as the ascending movement of mankind in the last sermon.

[50] For a useful definition of literature, see Jim Meyer, 'What is Literature? A Definition Based on Prototypes', in *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics: University of Dakota Session*, 41 (1997), which can be found on line at

http://www.und.edu/dept/linguistics/wp/1997Meyer.PDF. According to Meyer, literature has careful use of language, is written in a literary genre, is read aesthetically, and contains many weak implicatures. Though Meyer clearly restricts his definitions to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they prove equally applicable to older texts.

[51] 'Mediator Dei', § 22.

[52] *Sermon for All Saint's* IV. 2, in *SBO*, V (1968), p. 356.

the Incarnation of Easter, fulfilling the works of grace. Before, however, the Word stooped down writing with his finger on the ground, the silent act which visualizes the descent of the Spirit into the human soul, evoking the penitence which will make the soul deserving of the divine clemency that will purify the soul, reconstituting its innocence. But where can this silent descent of the Word into the material be found, before it became man by its Annunciation to the Virgin? Where else than in Holy Scripture which the Virgin was reading at the moment of the Annunciation?[53] The first—and silent—incarnation of the Word is in the body of the Bible.

The priest proceeds to the altar, to the body of the Saviour, his first and eternal body, the Bible. He summons the faithful around this altar, i.e. he addresses the readers of the Bible. Then he prepares himself for the breaking of the bread, of the body of the Saviour, i.e. of the biblical Word, not by his own hands but by the virtues of the Lord.[54] Breaking the bread of the Word is exactly what Bernard is doing in his *Sermons for the Liturgical Year*. By his exegesis, he elevates the biblical Word for the faithful, for his readers, that they may elevate themselves toward the bread of life, in which they will meet the descent of the Word itself. By incorporating the biblical Word as it is offered to him by the author as a priest, Bernard seems to say, the reader ascends to meet the descending movement of the Spirit in the Word, until he is able to conceive this Word in the plenitude of grace.

The *Sermons for the Liturgical Year* may be considered as one continuous offering of the Eucharist, of the sacrifice of the Word offering itself continuously and eternally to redeem the human soul. And here, one broaches the other aspect of liturgy contained in these texts. Because all time concepts, as distinguished in the sermons, meet in liturgy as well. At the moment of the Eucharist, divine eternity breaks into earthly time; and because of the continuous and eternal sacrifice chronological time is contracted into the punctiliar reality of eternal time. Re-reading the liturgical sermons chronologically in the course of the liturgical year means renewing the eucharistic sacrifice at every moment of the year and during all human life. In other words, it entails a fusion of cyclical, linear, and eternal time thanks to the act of narration; that act which enables Bernard to interpret time in a non-chronological—even anti-chronological way.[55] In Bernard's own words: 'Blessed

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[53] In his representation of the Virgin, Bernard narrates how she has locked herself away from the world to pray undisturbed: Miss III. 1 in *SBO*, IV (1966), p. 36. Shortly afterwards in the same homily she appears reading the Bible: Miss III. 7, in *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 40–41. Elsewhere too, Bernard makes a close link between praying and reading the Bible: 'Nam cum oramus cum Deo loquimur, cum vero legimus Dominus nobis cum loquitur' Sententia III. 97, in *SBO*, VI.2 (1972), p. 158 ('For when we pray, we talk with God. But when we read, the Lord talks with us').

[54] *Sermon on the Song of Songs* I. 4 in *SBO*, I (1957), pp. 4–5.

[55] This constitutes the ultimate aim of monastic life, though it has to be emphasized that, by publishing his sermons, Bernard deliberately transgresses the boundaries of the cloister. He addresses all 'faithful' who want to join him around the altar of his texts.

the mind to whom the Word shows itself affable everywhere as an inseparable companion and whose eloquence with its incessant joy helps him to deliver himself every hour from the vices and vexations of the flesh and to redeem his time from the days of evil'.[56]

In Bernard's eyes, then, writing and reading constitute a sacramental event, comparable to the celebration of the Eucharist. Just as the priest communicates the Word incarnate in the bread to the faithful in the mass, so the author now communicates the spiritual truth of the same Word incarnate in the text to the faithful reader. Reading the divine Word is equivalent to receiving him in his sacramental form. Literature has become liturgy.

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[56] *Sermon on the Song of Songs* 32. 7 in *SBO*, I (1957), p. 231.

Procession and Contemplation in Bernard of Clairvaux's First Sermon for Palm Sunday

METTE BIRKEDAL BRUUN

C istercian monasticism may be considered an enterprise operating between two interdependent registers.[1] On the one hand, the daily life of the Cistercians is organized according to circular and repetitive ritualized patterns; on the other hand, their spiritual endeavours are described in linear terms of progression and wayfaring. The question as to how these two registers complement and elucidate each other is complex; and while Cistercian spiritual writing among other things aims at informing the daily ritual life, explicit references to ritual or liturgical matters are rare. However, the Palm Sunday sermons written by the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) offer an exception. In these texts, the Palm Sunday procession is used as a frame of reference for a many-layered description of the Church peregrinating towards the heavenly Jerusalem, rephrasing material characteristics of the procession within a spiritual vocabulary. In this rephrasing, a relation is established between physical movement and contemplation,

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[1] Sincere thanks are due to Wim Verbaal, Britt Istoft, and Basilius van Vessum, OCSO, for fruitful discussions and helpful suggestions. While heading in other directions this examination is indebted to M. B. Pranger, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought: Broken Dreams* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) and its scrutiny of Bernard's literary imagination, epitomized in the initial passage pp. 2–3: 'Entering the site of the twelfth-century Cistercian monasteries at Fontenay in Burgundy or Le Thoronet in Provence, the visitor takes in two seemingly different sets of images. On the one hand, there is the austere but massive architectural form of the buildings making up the monastic complex, with their simple geometrical proportions. On the other hand, there is the extreme, untamed wildness of the surrounding landscape. Yet it is one single image which is conveyed to the eye of the beholder. What, then, does he really see? Form or chaos, light or darkness, exuberant vegetation or ascetic aridity? How is the wildness contained, how is the form broken down, how do they both constitute the monastery?'

which is characterized by both coherence and dichotomy. This essay examines the exchange between the Palm Sunday procession and Bernard's homiletic elaboration of it, taking as its point of departure the two fundamental registers of Cistercian monasticism.

The Cistercian Ethos I: Circularity

Cistercian daily life is based on fixed structures characterized by repetition and communal purposes and focus, which identify the monks as a uniform, ascetic entity. The ethos of the order is delimited, nourished, and redefined by recurrent references to aspects of the collective memory of the order,[2] by detailed regulation, and by pervasive mutual and hierarchical surveillance and introspection;[3] there are distinct procedures for almost any practice and any hour of the day, so that even the way in which the monk lies down in bed is prescribed in the manual *Ecclesiastica officia*.[4] Temporally and spatially, monastic life is embedded in circular and repetitive patterns. As a perpetual pulse, the days and weeks are structured by the canonical hours according to the Rule of Benedict, the years by the currents of feasts and quiet periods of the ecclesiastical year.[5] The space framing this life is centred on the cloister and the adjacent complex of buildings which form the heart of the monastery; church, dormitory, chapel, refectory and so on. There are vital digressions related to the manual work, to workshops, garden, and fishponds, but while these places are necessary to the wider scope of monastic life and monastic space, it is the cloister-complex that forms its core. And in carrying out his central

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[2] Concerning the exchange between monastic foundation as represented in founding narratives and the here and now of the community, see Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), a Cistercian focus is found in Mette B. Bruun, 'The Cistercian Rethinking of the Desert', in *Cîteaux*, 53 (2002), 233–52.

[3] Following *Regula Benedicti* and exhibited in Bernard of Clairvaux's *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. by J. Leclercq, H.-M. Rochais, and C. H. Talbot, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), [hereafter *SBO*], III (1963), pp. 13–59. See also Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 113.

[4] *Ecclesiastica officia* 72. 23, in Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet, *Les 'Ecclesiastica officia' Cisterciens du XIIème siècle*, La Documentation Cistercienne, 22 (Reiningue: Abbaye d'Œlenberg, 1989), p. 214. The detailed outline of *Ecclesiastica officia* follows the Cluniac concept of *consuetudo* in which every aspect of monastic life was provided for, cf. Bruno Schneider, 'Cîteaux und die benediktinische Tradition', in *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 16 (1960), 169–254 (p. 216).

[5] Compare Wim Verbaal's presentation of cyclical time in the article 'Literary Liturgy' in this volume.

monastic activities, the monk assiduously circulates between the different buildings within this complex. The circularity and the delimiting regulations form the core of a cenobitic ideal, the strength of which lies in a persistently reinforced comprehensiveness and homogeneity.[6]

The Cistercian Ethos II: Quest and Detention

The spiritual interpretation of the Cistercian way of life unfolds along different lines. It is based on meditation on biblical, patristic, and monastic texts in liturgy and *lectio divina*, and its framework may be defined as a biblical history of salvation, re-lived in monastic interpretation. Both temporally and spatially the spiritual ambience is orientated according to linear patterns; it takes place within a temporality related to salvation history, that is, composed by a soteriological past, present, and future, and a universe encompassing paradise, the original homeland of man, and the celestial homeland where he may again be united with his creator. The earthly life, between these two, is the *locus* of man's post-lapsarian alienation and exile. In their spiritual lives, the monks navigate a largely biblical topography of Babylons and Egypts, fierce wildernesses and fecund gardens. They strive to keep on *via regia*[7] with a singled-mindedness crystallized in the Bernardine statement that '[...] on life's journey lack of progression is regression [...]'.[8] But progression is threatened by detention and constant struggle against carnal impulses, and just as the Israelites longed for the fleshpots of Egypt while in the desert, so the monastic wall does not protect the monk from wandering back to terrestrial life in his heart.[9] Progressive

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[6] Bernard recurrently emphasizes the community as the preferable framework of asceticism, e.g. *In Circumcisione, sermo* 3; *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 282–91, *Parabola* 3; *SBO*, VI. 2 (1972), pp. 274–76, *Epistula* 2; *SBO*, VII (1974), pp. 12–22, and *Epistula* 115; *SBO*, VII (1974), p. 294–95. In the order at large, homogeneity is sought through affiliations, visitations, general chapters and statutes, within each community by the daily meetings in chapter and detailed regulations.

[7] The *topos* of *via regia* emerges from a fusion of numbers 20. 17 and 21. 22, describing the journey of the Israelites through the land of Edom and that of the Amorites along the Royal Highway, turning neither right nor left. In a monastic context, it signifies the purposeful ascetic striving undeterred by distractions. Cf. John Cassian *Collatio* 24. 24–25 in *Jean Cassien, Conférences*, ed. and trans. by E. Pichery, Sources Chrétiennes, 64 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1959), 196–97. See Jean Leclercq, 'La voie royale', in *Supplément de la Vie spirituelle*, 7 (1948), 338–52.

[8] '[...] in via vitae non progredi regredi est, [...]' *In purificatione S. Mariae, sermo* 2.3; *SBO*, IV (1966), p. 340.

[9] 'Legimus enim de filiis Israel, quia corde redierunt in Aegyptum. Nam corpore reverti, clausum post eorum talos Rubrum mare prohibebat' ('For we have read about the sons of Israel, that they returned to Egypt in their hearts. For returning in body was prevented by the

motion permeates the monastic vocation, the liturgical texture, and the *lectio divina*. It marks a contemplation of Christ, the driving force of which is the movement from understanding *in carne* (according to the flesh) to understanding *in spiritu* (according to the spirit).[10] But this movement does not pertain equally to every monk; its realization depends on spiritual maturity and disposition,[11] and although there are general patterns, the spiritual experience remains personal and essentially incommunicable.[12] The contemplative climax is the encounter between Christ and the soul as Bridegroom and Bride described in the language of, and framed within the topography of, the Song of Songs. This context is marked by equal measures of strength and fragility, bliss and despair,[13] and while fulfilling the monk for a moment, the contemplative vision of the divine is partial and temporary and leaves him with a heightened sense of alienated misery and an unsatisfied craving for God.[14] These two features, the carnal threat and the inability to fulfil the desire for the divine, mean that although the spiritual life of the monk is redolent of linearity, progression, and purposefulness, it is also to a high degree characterized by vacillation and deviousness.

The circular and the progressive registers of Cistercian monasticism are intertwined and interrelated. Put briefly and in a simplified way, the circular register sustains and promotes the spiritual development, while the linear register invests daily life with a biblical quality. Bernard's interpretation of the Palm Sunday procession offers a glimpse of some of the ideals implied in this process.

Red Sea, closing behind their heels'). *In Psalmum 'Qui Habitat', sermo* 3.5; *SBO*, IV (1966), p. 396

[10] 'To those who knew flesh, he offered his flesh through which they might also come to know spirit' ('Obtulit carnem sapientibus carnem, per quam discerent sapere et spiritum'). *Super Cantica canticorum, sermo* 6.3; *SBO*, I (1957), p. 27.

[11] *Super Cantica canticorum, sermo* 1.1–2; *SBO*, I (1957), pp. 3–4, and *In Resurrectione, sermo* 4.1; *SBO*, V (1968), p. 110.

[12] *Super Cantica canticorum, sermo* 74, for instance, presents a circumlocutory account of Bernard's own experience (*SBO*, II (1958), pp. 239–46); see furthermore Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, II: *The Growth of Mysticism* (London: SCM Press, 1995), p. 183.

[13] *Super Cantica canticorum, sermo* 73 and *sermo* 74; *SBO*, II (1958), pp. 233–46.

[14] 'O truth, the homeland of exiles, the end of exile. I see you but I am not allowed to enter, retained by the flesh, but also I am not worthy of entering, defiled by sin', ('O veritas, exsulum patria, exsilii finis! Video te, sed intrare non sinor, carne retentus, sed nec dignus admitti, peccatis sordens'). *Super Cantica canticorum, sermo* 50.8; *SBO*, II (1958), p. 83.

The Palm Sunday Procession

The Cistercian Palm Sunday procession has its manifest position within the cycle of the ecclesiastical year and is lent particular weight by the paucity of processions among the Cistercians.[15] It represents the entry of Christ into Jerusalem in the terms of the daily sphere of the monks in a convergence of biblical narrative and Cistercian practice.[16] The procession begins in the church with the blessing and distribution of branches to monks and novices and thereafter to lay brothers, lay people less formally associated with the monastery, and guests. The distribution is accompanied by the antiphon *Pueri hebreorum*[17] recalling the Hebrews who, carrying branches, met the Lord with cries of Hosannah. While singing *Occurrunt turbae*, evoking the crowds that went out to meet the Lord, paying him the homage due to a triumphant conqueror, the procession leaves the church and walks out into the cloister. The sub-deacon carries the holy water and the deacon follows with the uncovered crucifix. *Ecclesiastica officia* stresses that the procession takes place in the cloister only, and that the prior must take care that nobody improper enters the cloister meanwhile.

The first station is situated in the east wing of the cloister near the stairs to the dormitory, and the singing there of *Collegerunt* recollects the evil scheming of the chief priests and the Pharisees against Jesus. At each station the deacon and subdeacon turn their faces and the crucifix towards the community. The procession continues to the north/south wing[18] and the second station at the entrance to the

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[15] As part of the reaction against monastic exuberance, the first generations of Cistercians cut the number of processions back to two (Purification of Mary and Palm Sunday). Sometime during Bernard's last years, a third procession was added at Ascension, see Hélinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon* 48, An. 1151; PL 212, col. 1057d. See moreover Jean Leclercq, 'Études sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits', in *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 9 (1953), 9–247 (pp. 68 and 154). Over the following centuries, the number of processions increased gradually. Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977), pp. 248–49 and 256, and Hilding Johansson, *Ritus Cisterciensis*, Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, 18 (Lund, 1964), pp. 198–99.

[16] The procession is summarized on the basis of *Ordo in ramis palmarum* in *Ecclesiastica officia* XVII. The edition used here is mainly based on the following manuscripts: Trente 1711 dating from before 1140, Ljubljana 31, dating from between 1150 and 1152, and Dijon 114 dating from around 1185, Choisselet and Vernet, *Les 'Ecclesiastica officia' Cisterciens*, p. 11.

[17] I follow the standard of *Ecclesiastica officia* only mentioning the incipits of the antiphons. The antiphons belong to a Benedictine tradition, the texts of which are found in René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1963–79), III (1968) and IV (1970).

[18] In Northern monasteries, the cloister was likely to be south of the church, in Southern monasteries, a shaded cloister north of the church was preferred, Terryl Kinder, *Die Welt der Zisterzienser* (Würzburg: Echter, 1997), p. 117.

refectory, the singing meanwhile recollecting the Jewish fear of the Romans.[19] It is not until the procession stops in the fourth wing at the third station in front of the church that more joyful chords are struck, in the antiphon *Ave rex noster* lauding Christ as the redeemer of the world. Here the deacon reads the gospel, and the sub-deacon holds the crucifix turned towards the community. Meanwhile two brothers enter the church and, facing the procession from behind the closed door, sing *Gloria laus* about Christ as king and saviour, praised by men and all creation as well as by the heavenly hosts. The two brothers return to the procession, and while the abbot leads the responsory *Ingrediente*, on the entry of the Lord into the holy city where the Hebrews met him carrying palm-branches, the procession enters the church. Here all lay down their branches and celebrate mass.

The Cistercian procession is monastically comprehensive in its inclusion of the whole community, from the lay brothers to the abbot, with the addition of guests.[20] In that respect, it is a microcosmic reflection of the comprehensive, public Palm Sunday processions of secular society and other monastic orders. Nevertheless, spatially as well as sociologically the Cistercian procession is a strictly intra-mural ritual, since it does not leave the cloister, and care is taken that only those allowed enter. The pronounced circularity of the Cistercian procession, setting out from the church and returning to the church, is conspicuous compared to the general layout of the Palm Sunday procession in secular society as well as in other monastic orders, where the procession moves from one church to another, reflecting the progress of Jesus and his disciples from the Mount of Olives into Jerusalem.[21] Some scholars suggest that the Cistercian custom was imposed by the remoteness of Cistercian

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[19] The manuscript Trente 1711 lists four stations, with a third in the west wing, 'ex parte apothece', 'at the cellar' (Bruno Griesser, 'Die "Ecclesiastica officia Cisterciensis ordinis" des Cod. 1711 von Trient', in *Analecta Sacris Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 12 (1956), 153–288, (p. 195). Vernet and Choisselet find no reason for the discrepancy in the manuscripts (Choisselet and Vernet, *Les 'Ecclesiastica officia' Cisterciens*, p. 420, notes 49 and 50).

[20] This point is strengthened by the fact that lay brothers were not allowed to enter the cloister except during processions. Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Early Cistercian Experience of Liturgy', in *Rule and Life: An Interdisciplinary Symposium*, ed. by M. Basil Pennington (Spencer Massachusetts: Cistercian Publications, 1971), pp. 77–116 (p. 112).

[21] Bruno Schneider, 'Cîteaux und die benediktinische Tradition', p. 222; and Hermann J. Gräf, *Palmenweihe und Palmenprozession in der lateinischen Liturgie* (Kaldenkirchen: Steyler, 1959), p. 115. Schneider defines the Palm Sunday procession as one of the most important public processions in the Middle Ages, and states that in all other monasteries the monks leave the monastery on this occasion, 'Cîteaux und die benediktinische Tradition', p. 198. Craig Wright points to the re-enactment motif stressed in such extra-mural liturgical acts, 'The Palm Sunday Procession in Medieval Chartres', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. by Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 344–71 (p. 344).

monasteries from other churches.[22] However, the emphasis should probably rather be on the concord of this practice, and indeed the remoteness itself, with the crucial Cistercian ideal of estrangement from society.[23]

The procession embraces the cloister complex, tracing the primary space of the ritual and communal everyday life of the monks.[24] At the same time it constitutes a composite representation of Jerusalem; the cloister represents the town inhabited by expectant Jerusalemites and occupied by Romans, the *locus* of the scheming against Jesus, anticipating the crucifixion later to take place there; whereas the Church mirrors Jerusalem, the holy city, into which Jesus finally enters. The Jerusalem of the Church somehow hovers above the biblical geography in an ambiguity thus resolved by Bernard in a Palm Sunday sermon: 'Do not wonder at my saying that in today's procession the heavenly (procession) is represented, [...]'.[25] On the one hand, this statement points to the anagogical connotations related to the entry of Christ, on the other hand, the opening seems to warn against imposing this interpretation of the ritual too readily. The manifestation of Jerusalem within the confines of the monastic walls is not a singular Palm Sunday feature; the conception of Jerusalem is generally employed as an identification of monastic life. Basically the Jerusalem of the Cistercian monastery is characterized partly by its tense and competitive relation to the geographical, partly by its propinquity with the celestial Jerusalem. Bernard's *Epistula* 64 is a *locus classicus* in this respect. It is addressed to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and concerns Philip, a canon on pilgrimage who on his way to Jerusalem stopped at Clairvaux and decided to stay. Bernard writes:

> Your Philip has found a shortcut to Jerusalem and has arrived there very quickly. He crossed the vast ocean stretching wide on every hand with a favourable wind in a very short time, and he has now cast anchor on the shores for which he was making. Even now he stands in the courts of Jerusalem [...] He has entered the holy city and has chosen his heritage with those of whom it has been deservedly said: 'You are no longer exiles or aliens; the saints are your fellow citizens, you belong to God's household' [...] He is no longer an inquisitive onlooker, but a devout inhabitant and an enrolled citizen of Jerusalem; but not of that earthly Jerusalem [...] but that free Jerusalem which is above and is the mother of us all [...] And this, if you want to

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[22] Johansson, *Ritus Cisterciensis*, p. 192, following Schneider, 'Cîteaux und die benediktinische Tradition', p. 198.

[23] The basic features of this isolation are expressed in Capitula IX, Chrysogonus Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux* (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1999), pp. 408–09.

[24] Compare the presentation by Megan Cassidy-Welch in *Monastic Spaces and Their Meanings* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 58–65.

[25] 'Nec mireris quod praesenti processione caelestem dixerim repraesentari, [...]' *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 1.3; *SBO*, V (1968), p. 44.

know, is Clairvaux. She is the Jerusalem united to the one in heaven by whole-hearted devotion, by conformity of life, and by a certain spiritual affinity.[26]

In this text, the precedence of the monastery over the earthly Jerusalem is associated with its spiritual proximity to the celestial Jerusalem; this is a point further elaborated in, for instance, a sermon for the commemoration of St Michael, in which Bernard states about the angels:

> There are indeed many things that please them and which they will be delighted to find in us, such as sobriety, chastity, voluntary poverty, a constant yearning for heaven, prayer in tears and with an eager heart. However, above all this the angels of peace exact unity and peace from us. Why should they not be most delighted by that which represents a certain image of their city among us, so that they may wonder at the new Jerusalem on earth? I say, just as this city forms a unity, we should also all of us feel the same and speak the same, and there should not be schisms among us: rather we should all be like one body.[27]

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[26] 'Philippus vester, volens, proficisci Ierosolymam, compendium viae invenit, et cito pervenit quo volebat. Transfretavit in brevi hoc mare magnum et spatiosum, et, prospere navigans, attigit iam litus optatum atque ad portum tandem salutis applicuit. Stantes sunt iam pedes eius in atriis Ierusalem [...] Ingressus est sanctam civitatem, sortitus est cum illis hereditatem, quibus merito dicitur: IAM NON ESTIS HOSPITES ET ADVENAE, SED ESTIS CIVES SANCTORUM ET DOMESTICI DEI [Ephesians 2. 19] [...] Factus est ergo non curiosus tantum spectator, sed devotus habitator et civis conscriptus Ierusalem, non autem terrenae huius [...] sed liberae illius, quae est sursum mater nostra [cf. Galatians 4. 26]. Et si vultis scire, Claravallis est. Ipsa est Ierusalem, ei quae in caelis est, tota mentis devotione, et coversationis imitatione, et cognatione quadam spiritus sociata'. *Epistula* 64.1–2; *SBO*, VIII (1977), p. 157–58 (I follow *SBO* in marking quotations in capitals); translation from B. S. James, *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998, first pub. 1953), p. 91. See also *Epistula* 459; *SBO*, VIII (1977), p. 437, and the statement of *Epistula* 399: 'It is the vocation of a monk to seek not the earthly but the heavenly Jerusalem, and he will do this not by setting out on his feet but by progressing in his dispositions' ('Neque enim terrenam, sed caelestem requirere Ierusalem monachorum propositum est, et hoc non pedibus proficiscendo, sed affectibus proficiendo'). *SBO*, VIII (1977), pp. 379–80; trans. by James, *The Letters of S. Bernard*, p. 503. Unsurprisingly, different chords are struck in Bernard's spiritual manifesto for the Templars, *De laude novae militiae* in which the earthly Jerusalem is defined as an image of the celestial one.

[27] 'Sunt autem plurima quae eis placent et quae in nobis invenire delectant, ut est sobrietas, castitas, paupertas voluntaria, crebri in caelum gemitus, et orationes cum lacrimis, et cordis intentione [cf. *Regula Benedicti* 52.4]. Attamen super omnia haec unitatem et pacem a nobis exigunt angeli pacis. Quidni maxime delectentur in his, quae formam quamdam civitatis suae repraesentant in nobis, ut mirentur Ierusalem novam in terra? Dico autem, ut quomodo civitatis illius participatio est in idipsum [cf. Psalm 121. 3], sic et nos idipsum sentiamus, idipsum dicamus omnes, et non sint in nobis schismata, sed magis omnes simul unum corpus simus'. *In commemoratione S. Michaelis, sermo* 1.5; *SBO*, V (1968), p. 297.

The proximity of the monastery with the angelic city is not only a demand, it is a *fait accompli*, and Bernard calls the monastic order:

> '[...] the Order that was first in the Church, with which the Church indeed began, compared to which no one on earth is more similar to the orders of angels, no one closer to our mother Jerusalem who is in heaven, neither in the beauty of chastity nor in the ardour of love, [...]'.[28]

In other words, Bernard unravels the Augustinian intermingling of the two cities[29] in a clear-cut delimitation of the City of God on earth; and apart from individual occurrences of recidivism, such as peregrination to the geographical Jerusalem, it is the monastic order that constitutes the community of Jerusalemites. Bernard defines himself accordingly as 'monk and Jerusalemite'.[30]

But how does the Jerusalemite epithet of the monastery inform the Jerusalem of the Gospel evoked in the procession? As far as I can see, this question should be considered within the context of the monastic *lectio divina*, the well-ruminated appropriation of the biblical text and its spiritual meaning. Monastic life is an interpretative response to the biblical message. The monks are themselves required to be an instance, as is shown in Bernard's reflection on II Chronicles 20. 17: 'O Iuda et Ierusalem, nolite timere' ('O Judah and Jerusalem do not fear') urging that the brothers should be Jews of the spirit, not of the letter, true Jews and a true Jerusalem.[31] The life which is lived in the Jerusalem of the monastery complete with unity, asceticism, chastity, and love forms the spiritual, or more specifically the tropological, interpretation of the literal Jerusalem represented in the Gospel, and in the procession the monks at once mirror the Jerusalemites watching the entry of Jesus in Jerusalem, with its tinge of suffering and death, and point to themselves, the Cistercian monks, as they circumambulate their own monastic Jerusalem in which the humility and love of Christ resound.[32]

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[28] 'Ordinem scilicet qui primus fuit in Ecclesia, immo a quo coepit Ecclesia, quo nullus in terra similior angelicis ordinibus, nullus vicinior ei quae in caelis est Ierusalem mater nostra, sive ob decorem castitatis, sive propter caritatis ardorem [...]' *Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem* 24; *SBO*, III (1963), p. 101.

[29] Augustine states: 'True it is that those two cities are entangled in the present age and mutually intermingled till the final judgement, when they will be detached from one another' ('Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae civitates in hoc saeculo invicemque permixtae, donec ultimo iudicio dirimantur'). *De civitate Dei* 1.35; *Augustine: The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. by G. E. McCracken, 4 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965) I, 138. (McCracken's translation).

[30] 'monachus et Ierusolymita' *Super Cantica canticorum, sermo* 55.2; *SBO*, II (1958), p. 112.

[31] 'Veros alloquimur Iudaeos, non littera, sed spiritu. [...] Vos autem estote veri Iudaei, sed et Ierusalem vera, [...]' *In vigilia nativitatis, sermo* 2.1; *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 203–04.

[32] In some ways, this is a monastic match to the early stational liturgy as a confirmation of

The exclusively monastic setting, replete with the imprint of *lectio divina*, affects not only the Jerusalem of the Palm Sunday procession but also the representation of Christ. In the procession, Christ is present in the shape of the uncovered crucifix carried by the deacon which, as is prescribed in *Ecclesiastica officia*, is turned towards the community at the stations and during the gospel reading.[33] Christ in his carnal shape is before the monks, and he himself leads the way. This thought reverberates in a sermon for the Purification of Mary. Taking his cue from the procession of this feast, Bernard asks: 'But how are you to go out of here, you miserable soul, if you do not acknowledge Jesus as guide on your way?'[34] The procession thus fleshes out the doctrine of Christ as the guide of monastic *viatores*.[35]

Bernard's First Sermon for Palm Sunday

Bernard's first sermon for Palm Sunday, *De processione et passione*, emerges from the collective procession and sets out on its own course.[36] It is one of a set of three Palm Sunday sermons, the texts of which are products of a careful process of editing,[37] appearing as individual texts as well as a coherent and punctiliously shaped whole. The sermons present a composite exposition of a *processio* which implies at once the liturgical procession in the cloister, the ups and downs of ascetic life, and the slow and demanding progression of the Church towards the celestial homeland. The variety of people partaking in this procession is a recurrent theme, and Bernard

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an urban sacral territory—spatially as well as conceptually as presented in John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), pp. 253–68.

[33] The specification 'cum cruce discooperta' ('with unveiled cross') of MS Dijon 114 lacks in MS Trente 1711. Schneider defines the distinctly exposed crucifix as a 'Sonderbrauch' shared by Cistercians and reformed Benedictines, 'Cîteaux und die benediktinische Tradition', p. 245.

[34] 'Tu quomodo hinc exibis, anima misera, quae ducem itineris Iesum ignoras?' *In purificatione S. Mariae, sermo* 1.2; *SBO*, IV (1966), p. 335. Choisselet and Vernet comment that in the procession the community follows the Saviour with the eyes as well as the feet. Choisselet and Vernet, *Les 'Ecclesiastica officia' Cisterciens*, p. 421, note 51.

[35] Crystallized in the exposition of John 14. 6 'I am the way, the truth and the life' in the first chapter of *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* I.1; *SBO*, III (1963), pp. 16–17.

[36] Winkler dates the sermon to after 1145 due to the reference to the heretic Henry of Lausanne in *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 1.3, cf. Gerhard Winkler 'Predigten zum Kirchenjahr—Einleitung', in *Bernhard von Clairvaux—Sämtliche Werke*, ed. and trans. by G. Winkler and others, 10 vols (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1990–99), VIII, 25–67, pp. 26 and 37, note 5.

[37] See Jean Leclercq, 'Introduction', *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 150–51 and Jean Leclercq, *Recueil d'études sur Saint Bernard et ses écrits*, 3 vols (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), III (1963), pp. 163–79.

states that the *processio* of the Church includes both knowledgeable and unwise or, as they are also defined, worldly and spiritual (*saeculares* and *spirituales*). In the Bernardine corpus *saeculares* generally denotes people outside the monastery, but the word may also designate monks of worldly inclinations.[38] In these sermons there seems to be a conscious ambiguity, and while in the first sermon *saeculares* presumably signifies lay people, the possibility that the monks might themselves be similarly classified is never wholly absent. This latent connotation is accentuated in Bernard's discrimination between four different groups of people who are, he says, 'perhaps all of them found in our procession',[39] Bernard ranks them as follows: those who lead the way towards the Lord; those who, conscious of their own lack of wisdom, follow closely in the track of those in front; those who live for God alone in the monastery and only strive to please him; and, finally, those with obstinate hearts who are like animals, always needing stick and spur. These, he says, do not know how to sing but contribute to the procession only mean and coarse sounds.[40] This passage seems to hold a double depiction of the procession of the Church at large and the liturgical procession of a diverse body of monks, bringing with them a wide spectrum of spiritual inclinations and abilities.[41] The comprehensive, patient, and laborious demeanour of these two processions, inclusive and diverse on an intra-

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[38] *In psalmum 'Qui habitat', sermo* 3.5 describes the danger that the heart may turn to the world although the body is secure behind the monastic wall. Bernard says of the monks: '[...] even if shame may keep them from corporeal apostasy, the heat might gradually force upon them the apostasy of the heart, so that while maintaining a worldly heart beneath the monastic habit, they embrace whatever worldly consolation they may find', ('[...] si pudor neget apostasiam corporis, tepor ipse paulatim ingerat apostasiam cordis, ut videlicet in habitu religionis cor saeculare gerant, et quidquid saecularis consolationis invenire potuerint amplectantur'). *SBO*, IV (1966), pp. 396–97, see also *In quadragesima, sermo* 2.3. In *Super Cantica canticorum, sermo* 1.1–2 (*SBO*, I (1957), pp. 3–4), Bernard differentiates between a 'vos' and 'alii de saeculo', launching a separation between three apparently monastic groups: those who have realized the futility of the world and those who have transformed their lives and morals on the one hand, and those ready for the Song of Songs on the other.

[39] '[...] fortassis in hac nostra processione omnes hodie poterunt inveniri'. *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 2.5; *SBO*, V (1968), p. 48.

[40] That these hard-hearted figures are not only seculars but also monks is sustained by the opening of the following passage: 'If there are such ones here to whom the discipline of the Order seems strenuous and everything heavy [...]', ('Si qui tales sunt hic, quibus gravis sit Ordo et omnia onerosa [...]') and the further elaboration of the care and patience that these burdened ones should be shown, *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 2.6; *SBO*, V (1968), p. 49.

[41] The inclusive character of the Palm Sunday sermons is anticipated in Bernard's first sermon for the Purification of Mary, stating that while the first procession to the temple consists only of four people (Mary, Joseph, Anna, and Simeon) 'at the second procession there is a crowd in front and a crowd following, and it is not the virgin who carries [Jesus] but a donkey', ('In secunda iam processione praeeunt turbae, turbae sequuntur; nec virgo portat, sed asellus'). *In purificatione Mariae, sermo* 1.1; *SBO*, IV (1966), p. 335.

mural and an extra-mural scale respectively, resounds like a dominant note through the three sermons.

This note is also found in the first sermon, which is from now on our primary focus. This sermon introduces a dual treatment of the connection of procession and passion presented in different versions to knowledgeable and unwise.[42] The message aimed at the unwise adheres to a narrow Passion context. It refers to Christ in the flesh, and reads the association of procession and passion as a message that joy is followed by sorrow. This moral is an exposition of the point that the very city that received Jesus with joy and praise was also the place in which he was shortly after exposed to a humiliating death. In short, the message aimed at the unwise coalesces nicely with the overall slow-moving inclusivity of the homiletic mirroring of the ritual of the procession and the texts involved.

However, this general mode is briskly disrupted in the short second paragraph, the address to the knowledgeable: 'To you, however, dearest ones, as it were providing things of the spirit for those of the spirit, we show in the procession the glory of the celestial homeland, while in the passion we show you the way'.[43] This passage presents a striking change from the plural to the singular 'you' as the individual contemplator is led further into the connection of passion and procession:

> If in the procession there comes into your mind that future joy and exceedingly great exultation, when we shall be caught up in the clouds, to meet Christ in the air, if with all your longing you desire to see the day when Christ the Lord is received into the celestial Jerusalem, the head with all the limbs, bringing the triumph of victory, no longer saluted by crowds of people but by angelic powers, while the people of both Testaments shout on all sides: 'Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord' (Matthew 21. 9)—if, I say, you considered in the procession, whither it was hastening, then learn in the passion the manner of going. Because that is by the way of life, the present tribulation; the way to glory, the way to the city where we are to live, the way to the Kingdom, in pursuit of which the robber cries out from the cross: 'Remember me, Lord, when you come into your Kingdom.'[44]

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[42] Bernard says about this connection: 'As we have obligations to both the knowledgeable and the unwise we will consider what this connection offers each of these', ('Quoniam ergo sapientibus et insipientibus debitores sumus, videamus quid utrisque conferat haec coniunctio'). *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 1.1. The wording 'sapientibus et insipientibus debitores sumus' is a reference to Romans 1. 14.

[43] 'Vobis, autem, carissimi, tamquam spiritualibus spiritualia comparantes, in processione quidem caelestis patriae repraesentamus gloriam, in passione monstramus viam.' *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 1.2; *SBO*, V (1968), p. 43. Cf. *Sententia*, III.94: 'On Palm Sunday Christ began his journey from Bethany, prefiguring to us the virtuous way to the celestial Jerusalem', ('Die palmarum a Bethania Christus iter incepit, moralem viam nobis praesignans ad caelestem Ierusalem'). *SBO*, VI.2 (1972), p. 153.

[44] '[...] si in processione quidem venit tibi in mentem futura illa laetitia et exsultatio multa nimis, quando rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera, si tota concupiscentia videre

The passage centres on the Passion context, but superimposes on it a wider discourse related to the context of soteriological and spiritual progression, and at quite another pace. Here Bernard creates a contemplative meta-structure, which contrasts with and complements the ritual and physical procession in the cloister. He invites those who are spiritually capable to join him on a demanding contemplative journey to the celestial city: a journey which is made within a spiritual space manifest to the interior gaze of the monk who ruminates on Bernard's words. This space encompasses two main *topoi*, heaven and earth, as well as the means by which to overcome the dichotomy between them: the way of passion and the cross.[45] Bernard plots a cluster of *topoi* that take their bearings from the gospel but connote a wider spiritual significance. He begins his cartographic venture by pinpointing the celestial homeland shown in the ritual procession, then hastens back to terrestrial life. This terrestrial life is described as offering a way to the celestial city, and in his text, Bernard takes his audience there in five steps: the way of life, the present tribulation, the way to glory, the way to the city where we are to live, and the way to the kingdom. Having—contemplatively—arrived in that kingdom, Bernard immediately forces his audience to move back to the earthly robber crying from the cross. Finally, the route is travelled one more time, stressing the brevity of the way taken by the robber to the kingdom: he arrived on the very same day.[46] The contemplative reader, or listener, has just travelled to and fro four times within a single passage. The journey is defined by the pinpointing of both earth and heaven, but it does not take the shape of straightforward progression, because its progressive drift is broken, and

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desideras diem illam, quando suscipietur in caelesti Ierusalem Christus Dominus, caput cum omnibus membris, portans triumphum victoriae, applaudentibus iam non popularibus turmis, sed virtutibus angelicis, clamantibus undique populis utriusque Testamenti: BENEDICTUS QUI VENIT IN NOMINE DOMINI, si, inquam considerasti in processione quo properandum sit, disce in passione qua sit eundum. Haec est enim via vitae, tribulatio praesens; via gloriae, via civitatis habitaculi, via regni, secundum quod clamat latro de cruce: "MEMENTO MEI, DOMINE, DUM VENERIS IN REGNUM TUUM" [Luke 23. 42 in the wording of the antiphon *Memento mei*].' *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 1.2; *SBO*, V (1968), pp. 43–44.

[45] The depiction of the cross as a shortcut is also found in *Epistula* 8.2: 'The good thief took this short way to salvation. On one and the same day he confessed his sin and was brought to glory, satisfied to use the cross as a short bridge from the state of otherness into the land of the living, from the filth of this life to the paradise of delights', ('Hoc salutis compendium sanctus ille latro consecutus est: uno eodemque die simul et confessus latrocinia, et introductus in gloriam, brevi quodam contentus ponte Crucis ad transigendum de regione dissimilitudinis in terram viventium et de luto faecis in paradisum voluptatis'). *Epistula* 8.2; *SBO*, VII (1974), p. 48; trans. by James, *The Letters of S. Bernard*, p. 39.

[46] 'Thus the glory of the entry makes the labour of the suffering in the procession tolerable, for "nothing is difficult for him who loves."', ('Tolerabilem proinde reddit passionis laborem gloria processionis, quoniam AMANTI NIHIL DIFFICILE EST [Cicero, *Orator* X.33]'). *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 1.2; *SBO*, V (1968), p. 44.

an oscillation verging on hovering is introduced instead.[47] For a moment this oscillatory passage obviates the wide spatial and temporal distance of the way of life in the brief transition of the robber, who manages to leap the otherwise unavoidable gap between earth and heaven in a single day. In reflecting this leap the passage itself becomes a brief and condensed transition within the overall laboriously progressive span of the sermons. And just as Philip the pilgrim found a short cut to Jerusalem in Clairvaux, the spiritually minded monks may find a short cut to the celestial city in their contemplation of Christ in the spirit preceding man on his way to his Kingdom, and their ability to combine this insight with the humbleness and tribulations of earthly life.

This sermon for Palm Sunday has its place within the course of the church year and implies a *Sitz-im-Leben* marked by the preaching to the community in the chapter prior to the Palm Sunday procession, elaborating the tenor of the ritual and the feast.[48] The sermon is fashioned on the substructure of the ritual, the recollection of the liturgical procession, which is not only about to take place a little later the same day but also took place 'last year', the year before that and so on. The association of the sermon with the events of Palm Sunday may be considered the structure on which Bernard's contemplative restructuring—or even deconstruction—depends. This applies to the reading of the text on other days as well. There are several layers of spiritual interpretation of the *processio* in the sermon, but the contemplative climax is reached in the oscillation between heaven and earth in a fragmented vision of Christ taking his Bride to the heavenly kingdom on the clouds. This climax develops out of the physical, circular action of the liturgical procession and the linear narrative that it unfolds, the narrative of Jesus's movement from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem; and the significance of the oscillation is augmented by its contrast to both circular movement and linear associations. But presumably the interpretation also goes the other way. Those who comprehend according to the spirit should bear in mind during the ritual the insight provoked by the passage on the robber and the short way to heaven. Thus the individual rumination on the oscillatory rush of the brief passage may be embedded in the solemnly progressing collective ritual which embraces the principal monastic space. Accordingly, the entrance into the church at the end of the procession manifests itself as an anticipation of the admittance into the heavenly Jerusalem, coalescing with a range of pointers in the part of the procession that precedes the entry into the church, most notably the praise of *Gloria laus* and the responsory wording 'Ingrediente Domino in sanctam civitatem' ('As the Lord entered the holy city'). This is an anticipation of

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[47] This may be considered a spatial parallel to the punctiliar time referred to in Wim Verbaal's article.

[48] The sermon was read at terce. The double reference to the procession 'celebraturi sumus', in *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 2.1 (*SBO*, V (1968), p. 46) stresses the imminent celebration of the procession and constitutes a semantic connection between sermon and procession.

the entry to come but also a ritual that parallels the partial vision implied in the contemplative union of the soul with Christ. But at the same time, the ambivalence of the notion *saeculares*, and a certain duality running through the sermons, imply a separation in the procession between those monks who contemplate Christ in the spirit and those who do but understand according to the flesh. The first sermon for Palm Sunday concludes with a statement about lay people, church leaders and monks shaped in the comprehensive style of the three Palm Sunday sermons in general: 'All, insofar that each has fulfilled his service dutifully, are in the procession of the Saviour and enter the holy city with him'.[49] It is rounded off, however, with usual Bernardine verve: 'Yet who in this procession was closer to Jesus and which of the three orders nearer to salvation, you may, I believe, easily discern'.[50] The inclusivity is thus graduated by differences in approximation; in the Church at large the approximation to Christ in the flesh, among the monks the approximation to Christ in the spirit.

Conclusion

On the one hand, there is a procession, which in its concrete basics belongs to the ritual, cyclical and collective life of the monastery. It maps the territory of the everyday life of the monks while presenting the events of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. This context is generally accessible. On the other hand there is a sermon with a two-pronged message; one immediately associable with the ritual and its actualization of the Gospel, the other pointing to the procession of Christ to the heavenly city, anticipating that of man. The sermon thus seemingly embarks on a linear course in an anagogical interpretation of the entry of Jesus.

Within this course, however, one single passage of the sermon stands out in which a contrary impulse is introduced; a spiritual transformation of the procession, setting up an oscillation between heaven and earth. The juxtaposition of the ritual procession for Palm Sunday and Bernard's Palm Sunday sermon suggests that the contemplation *in spiritu* of the monks is nourished through the disruption and dismissal of the notions of time, space, and structure basically adhered to in monastic everyday life. The physical procession provides the cyclical background, and the interpretation of it the linear dynamics that this singular passage of the sermon breaks or stops while directing the gaze of its audience or reader from the carnal Christ of the entry into Jerusalem to the spiritual Christ, leading the way on clouds. Thus it informs the physical ritual of the procession by means of an osmotic

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[49] 'Omnes tamen, si fideliter suo quisque intentus fuerit ministerio, in processione sunt Salvatoris et cum eo ingrediuntur in sanctam civitatem, [...]' *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 1.4; *SBO*, v (1968), p. 45.

[50] 'Cui tamen in processione illa Iesus propinquior, cui de tribus ordinibus salus vicinior, facile, credo, potestis advertere'. *In ramis palmarum, sermo* 1.4; *SBO*, v (1968), p. 45.

exchange between the circular and the progressive registers of Cistercian monasticism and a momentary disruption of both. The homiletic disruption moreover implies a shattering of the cenobitic homogeneity in its distinction between the inclusive order of monks, forming an elite group within the slow, comprehensive procession of the Church, and—within this inclusive monastic group—those particular monks capable of riding the contemplative tiger.

Ritual and Repetition:
The Ambiguities of Refrains

ANDREAS HAUG

The point of departure of this essay is the co-existence of two different types of refrains in the corpus of new Latin liturgical song emerging around 1100. Its aim is not, however, the unrewarding attempt to classify various different types of refrain *per se*, nor to posit some sort of large-scale shift 'from ritual to artifice'. Instead, the essay intends to illustrate how a functional, pre-artificial element of performance turns into a quasi-autonomous element of the artifice and, at the same time, how extra-textual connotations of a 'real' refrain—the alternation between call and response, the interaction between individual and group, between utterance and affirmation—are still present and tangible in the artificial ingenuity of 'virtual' refrains; in other words, how an element from the ritual background reverberates in the verbal and melodic fabric of the sounding song, contributing to its effect and meaning. First, though, it is necessary to probe the qualities of 'real' and 'virtual' refrains in slightly greater detail.

For 'real' refrains, one finds repetitions of entire, more or less self-contained sections of the poetical and melodic composition of the song, such as complete stanzas or half stanzas, pairs of verse lines or single lines. This form of refrain is old, of seemingly indeterminate age. Within Latin liturgical song from the Carolingian period onwards, it is a frequent feature of processional song. Often the returning element is the opening stanza of the song. This type of refrain surfaces as an aspect of the ritual of which the song is an element, rather than as an aspect of its compositional conception. The formal duality of progression and linearity on the one hand, iteration and circularity on the other, still corresponds to the performative dualities of call and response, of solo singer and singing group. This type of refrain is an element of a liturgical action (singing and movement), part of the concrete performative reality of the rite. Thus this kind of verbal/melodic repetition might be labeled as a 'functional', 'performative' and 'ritual' refrain.

Alternatively, there are verbal/melodic repetitions of small-sized units of the song, like parts of lines or single words. Sometimes the returning element is even restricted to shifting declension forms of the same word or to prominent structural features on both the textual and the melodic level of the song. This type of refrain is an 'inner', intra-textual element of the song itself—the song as a textual/melodic artifice—not rendered by the performance. Thus it might be perceived as a kind of 'virtual' refrain, rather than a 'real' one. There are cases where it is quite unlikely that the returning element was meant to be performed as a real refrain, and there are cases where this was very likely the case. However, that both types of refrains are employed within the same corpus of songs and eventually even side by side within one and the same song, causes an ambiguity which seems to have been intended by the creator of the song.

Viewed from a broader historical perspective, the results of an analysis of differing modes of verbal/melodic repetition within liturgical song around and after 1100 can be related to another phenomenon: the absence and aesthetic disapproval of performative refrains in contemporary vernacular, courtly, high style art song. Here, the social practice constituting the original functional context of the 'real', performative or functional refrain is dance, rather than ritual. This evaluation is still virulent around 1300 both in Dante's concern about the amount of repetition consistent with the aesthetic dignity of the courtly 'cantio', and in the dualism of 'cantio' (the Great Song, which does not have a refrain) and 'cantilena' (the Minor Song which always has) in Johannes de Grocheio's classification of vernacular music.[1] It only disappears (behind the back, as it were, of these two backwards-looking commentators) in the course of an aesthetic ennobling of the refrain, when it becomes a constituent part of the *formes fixes* of new monophonic and polyphonic art song emerging after 1300.

Refrain Forms in the Old Song

When the Good Friday hymn *Pange, lingua gloriosi* by the sixth-century poet Venantius Fortunatus (MMMA I, pp. 481–482) was sung in the High Middle Ages as a processional song, the second stanza, *Crux fidelis inter omnes*, took on the role of the refrain. It started the whole chant off and shared the same melody as all the stanzas after which it was repeatedly inserted. Thus the Good Friday hymn was transformed in a particularly marked manner into a Hymn of the Cross. On occasion, the stanza that was repeated as a refrain distinguished itself melodically from the others, such as in the poetic composition *Homo quidam erat dives* (MGH Poetae IV/2, pp. 537–539) which was similarly used as a processional song. In this case, the

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[1] Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, Lib. II, ch. X; *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. by Alberto del Monte in *Opere minore* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1960), p. 594.

opening stanza which returns as refrain melodically outshines the others, both by preferring to explore the upper regions of the melodic range and by arrogating to itself the exclusive right to rise to the highest pitch of the chant.[2] For the metrical hymn *Gloria, laus et honor* by Theodulf of Orléans (750–821), two distinct melodies have survived (see Example 1). The first was transmitted widely across Europe and marks off the first distich—which functions as the refrain—from the others (MMMA I, pp. 484–485). Since in this European version the melodic shaping of the refrain is different from the melodic shaping of the other stanzas, it can take the semantic disjuncture after 'tibi sit' into account. This it achieves by a strongly articulative descent to the final. And since the refrain, modally closed in itself, brings the entire composition to a conclusion, it allows for all other stanzas to end on the fifth above the final pitch. This does not occur in the second melody—from Benevento (MMMA I, p. 485)—with the result that its structure is subordinate to the verse form; the elegiac distich is perceived as a melodically self-contained stanza.
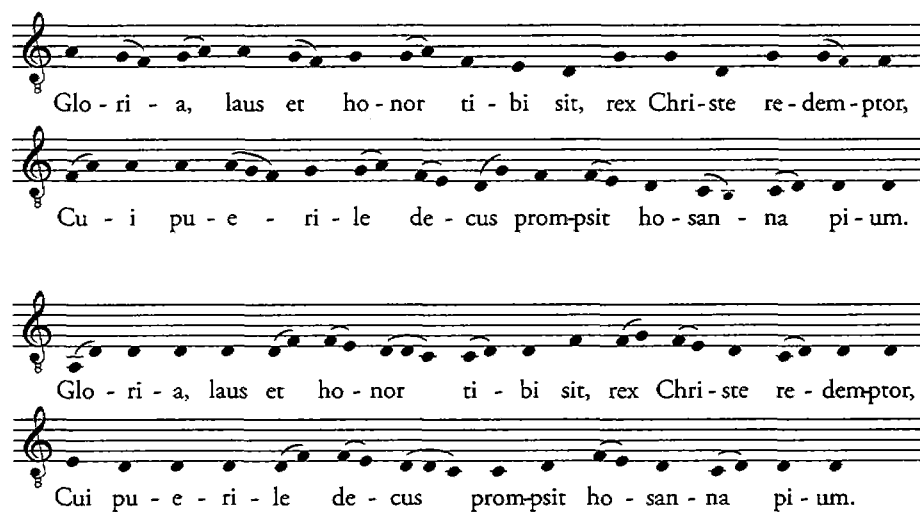
Example 1: Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 19, fol. 67 (top) and Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, VI 38, fol. 35.

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[2] See Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, 'Rhythmischer Vers: Performative Aspekte seiner Form', in *Poetry of the Early Medieval Europe: Manuscripts, Language, and Music of the Rhythmical Latin Texts*, ed. by Edoardo d'Angelo and Franceso Stella (Florence: SISMEL, 2001), 119–48.

This refrain type is typical for the so-called Old Song—that venerable tradition of poetic composition in hymns, *versus* and *rithmi* stretching back before the emergence of newer forms around 1100.[3] In this type, portions of the overall form which are in themselves more or less self-contained syntactically, semantically, or even melodically are subjected to repetition in the course of delivery. The song thus 'bends' in a 'reflectio'—employing a medieval term for refrain—back in on itself. When this was combined with a change in performing resources between solo singer and singing group (according to the responsorial principle of call and response), the 'reflectio' simultaneously adopts the form of a 'responsum'—to use another medieval term. Thus the song enters into an interactive exercise, pre-arranged among the singers, with one of its constituent parts. The creation of such a refrain is not primarily an aspect of compositional form, but of performance. It is a characteristic of songs which accompanied or underscored motion. In the context of the liturgy, these are processional songs; in the secular domain, dance songs.

In addition, the vocally performed, 'rhythmical' poetic texts of the Carolingian epoch with a religious or moralistic theme—but without a defined liturgical function—often have a refrain form. Almost uniformly in these songs, whose melodies have but for a few exceptions been lost, the last line of the stanza acts as refrain. The texts, therefore, point to a performative realization for the refrain, or at least the possibility of such. The refrain is an exclamation referring to the thematic core of the song: in it, the universal validity and communal affirmation of that which is sung attain expression.

Examples of this phenomenon are numerous. In his teaching on poetics from around 700, Bede cites the song *Apparebit repentina* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 507) as an example of a particular verse form, the trochaic septenar.[4] The song belongs to a group of compositions in which the menacing backdrop to the Last Judgement is depicted. In this specific historical example, the refrain reads 'In tremendo die iudicii'; in *Apparebunt ante summum* (MGH Poetae I, p. 491), 'Imminente die iudicii' (changing to 'In pavendo die iudicii' and 'In perennis die sabbati') is deployed. For the Easter Song *Audite, omnes gentes* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 501), the refrain is 'Iam Christus surrexit'. Syntactically independent refrains occurring before

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[3] On this new type of song: Wulf Arlt, '*Nova Cantica*—Grundsätzliches und Spezielles zur Interpretation musikalischer Texte des Mittelalters', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 10 (1986), pp 13–62, and Wulf Arlt, 'Das Eine und die vielen Lieder: Zur historischen Stellung der neuen Liedkunst des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Dubowy and Sören Meyer-Eller (Pfaffenhofen: Ludwig, 1990), pp. 113–27, and Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, 'Altes Lied—Neues Lied', in the proceedings from the conference *Altes Lied—Neues Lied: Thesen zur Transformation des lateinischen Liedes um 1100*, IV Congreso Internacional de Latín Medieval, Santiago de Compostela 2002 (Santiago de Compostela, forthcoming).

[4] Beda Venerabilis, *De arte metrica*, cap. XXIII; ed. by C. B. Kendall in CCSL 123A, *Bedae Venerabilis opera, Pars I: Opera didascalia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975).

the opening stanza, such as 'Iam Christus resurrexit' or the affirming observation 'Mirabilia fecit deus' in *Prima dies dixit deus* (MGH Poetae I, p. 471), the acclamation 'Deus qui iustus semper es laudabilis' in *Ante secula et mundi principio* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 559), or the exclamation 'Venite et gaudete nato Christo domino' in the Christmas song *A superna caeli parte* (MGH Poetae I, p. 477), could well be conceived as the real—and sung—response of a group. Another example is the alternating and contrasting refrain 'Beatus homo'—in the odd numbered stanzas, after the listing of those virtues and actions through which man attains holiness—and 'Est maledictus'—after the even stanzas, where he is conversely warned about the road to perdition. The refrains are pithy protestations of unanimity. The principle of ongoing alternation in the song between beatitudes and curses can be discerned from the two opening strophes. Equally insistent is the possibly soloistic anticipation of the choric refrain words at the beginning of each stanza:

Beatus homo, qui pauper est spiritu,	Blessed is the man who is poor in spirit,
Quoniam illi regnum caeli dabitur.	For the kingdom of heaven shall be given him.
Beatus homo.	Blessed is the man.
Est maledictus, bis est deditus	He is cursed: in two ways both given over to,
Atque intentus gule voluptatis.	And intent on, the gluttony of pleasure.
Est maledictus.	He is cursed.

In the Marian song *Angelus domini Mariae nuntiat* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 474)—an abecedary composition, in which the opening letters of the individual stanzas run through the alphabet[5]—the words of the address 'Beata virgo et dei genetrix' first form part of the Angel's speech in the Annunciation scene, before establishing themselves in the course of the song as an increasingly independent syntactic and conceptual unit. They are thus transformed into a catchphrase of those singing which, beginning with scenes from the life of the Mother, later tracks scenes from the life of her Son. Those stanzas beginning with the letters A and B (Annunciation), F (the manger at Bethlehem), M (Adoration of the Magi), T (baptism in the Jordan), and Z (the publican Zacchaeus in the tree) may illustrate the gradual drifting apart thematically of song and refrain:

Angelus domini Mariae nuntiat:	The angel of the Lord announced to Mary:
'Spiritus sanctus super te veniat,	'The Holy Ghost shall come upon you,
Beata virgo et dei genitrix.	Blessed Virgin and Mother of God.
Beata es, virgo ex mulieribus	Blessed are you, O Virgin, among women
Quod de te nascitur,	Because that which is born of you

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[5] In the following discussion, those compositions quoted whose first stanza begins with 'A' also operate according to an abecedary scheme.

sanctum vocabitur.'	shall be called holy.'
Beata virgo et dei genitrix.	Blessed Virgin and Mother of God.

[...]

Felicem dicunt illum presepium,	That manger was said to be felicitous
Ubi iacebat excelsi filius.	Where the son of the Most High lay.
Beata virgo et dei genitrix.	Blessed Virgin and Mother of God.

[...]

Magi occurrunt offerentes munera	The wise men came offering gifts,
Stellam sequentes, quae eos duxerat.	Following the star which led them.
Beata virgo et dei genitrix.	Blessed Virgin and Mother of God.

[...]

Tinctus in undi Jordanis fluvius	Bathed in the waves of the River Jordan
Vitam donavit excelsi filius	The Son of the Most High bestowed life.
Beata virgo et dei genitrix.	Blessed Virgin and Mother of God.

[...]

Zacheus per fidem ascendit arborem	Zacchaeus climbed the tree in faith
Ut transeuntem videret dominum.	To see the Lord passing by.
Beata virgo et dei genitrix.	Blessed Virgin and Mother of God.

When the refrain occurs in such abecedary compositions, or in a song like *Prima die dixit deus*, whose strophes begin by counting off the days on which God brought forth his 'mirabilia' ('Prima die dixit deus [...]', 'Secunda die fecit deus [...]', 'Tertia die [...]'), the oppositional pull between a thematic 'processus' and a structural 'reflectio' is particularly noticeable. In *Audi me, deus* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 486), a switch occurs from the singular to the plural on the appearance of the refrain: it extends the prayers, requests ('Audi *me*, deus', 'ad te *clamo*', '*regem adoro*', '*me* peccantem suscipe'), and sinful cries of the individual across all 'tribulantes'. The refrain itself is formulated 'Iesus, clementer tribulantes subveni' ('merciful Jesus, give succour to those in tribulation'). Whilst this switch may not point to an actual change in performance resources from solo singer to group, it does, however, suggest the idea of communal participation in the song; of the extension of sung performance across a growing number of singers; of an excrescence in song. The 'reflectio' functions as a 'responsum' in a stricter sense when the refrain appears as

an element of a quasi-homiletic question-and-answer game, as in the abecedary *Ante saecula et tempora* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 524). Its stanzas all end with a 'quis'-question concerning biblical events from the Old and New Testament to which the refrain gives the enduringly obvious and permanently identical answer: 'Benedictus dominus | Christus dei filius.' As a sample, here follow four strophes of this—perhaps in alternation of question and answer—sung 'Bible quiz':

Ante secula et tempora	Before the ages and times
Et celorum sidera	And the stars of the heavens
Patris ore prodiit:	He came forth from the Father's mouth:
Quis est deus ex deo?	Who is God from God?
Benedictus dominus	The blessed Lord,
Christus dei filius.	Christ, the Son of God.
Canticum canentibus	Singing a song
In camino flammeo	In the fiery furnace
Tribus una vox erat,	There was one voice from three,
Et ille quartus quis fuit?	And who was the fourth?
Benedictus dominus	The blessed Lord,
Christus dei filius.	Christ, the Son of God.
Daniel immitibus	Daniel was handed over
Traditur leonibus,	To the vicious lions,
Ne voraretur morsibus,	Lest he be devoured in morsels
Clausit ora quis feris?	Who shut the mouths of the wild animals?
Benedictus dominus	The blessed Lord,
Christus dei filius.	Christ, the Son of God.
Ymnum canebant angeli	Angels sang a hymn
Resurgente domino,	To the rising Lord,
Ascendente in caelis,	Ascending into the heavens,
Ad dextram patris quis sedet?	Who sits at the right hand of the Father?
Benedictus dominus	The blessed Lord,
Christus dei filius.	Christ, the Son of God.

The interrogative 'quis' comes—not only in the quoted stanzas—mostly on the antepenultimate syllable of the line before the refrain and is followed by a two-syllable verb form. Since the majority of lines end with three-syllable proparoxytone words—that is, with an accentual stress on the antepenultimate syllable—this is an emphasized position in the line. Thus one stressed 'quís fuit', 'quís sedet' and not 'quis fúit', 'quis sédet'.

With intercessory songs directed to Jesus himself, to Mary, or to other saints, the refrain can play the part of a repeated intercession in the style of a litany. Such songs

are the abovementioned *Audi me, deus* with the refrain 'Iesus clementer tribulantes subveni'; *Aurora dicta* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 515) with the two-line refrain 'Prece pulsemus Christi matrem Mariam, | Ut impetremus peccatorum veniam' ('We cry to Mary, the mother of Christ, so that we gain mercy for sinners') which directly addresses the intercessor; and *Amicus sponsi* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 518) with the refrain 'Sanctus Iohannes baptista ad dominum | Deum pro nobis exoret altissimum' ('May St John the Baptist pray for us to our most high Lord God') which formulates the intercession in the third person. In intercessory songs of this type, the refrain creates a litany-like effect.

The refrain in laments is employed neither as an acclamation, nor as an invocation or intercession, but as an affective gesture or a repetition of a plaintive cry—as in the lament over the death of Charlemagne (MGH Poetae I, p. 435), the 'Planctus Karoli' or 'Ymnus funebris de Karolo rege', as the rubrics to the song *A solis ortu usque ad occidua* read. A ninth-century song collection from the monastery of Saint-Martial in Limoges contains a redaction of the melody in staffless neumatic script which was probably entered later.[6] The neumatic signs, while not indicating exact pitches, nevertheless give an outline of the pitch sequence. Two separate scribes, who also added notations to other songs in this important manuscript, hint at differing pitch sequences to the first two strophes. The notations reveal that, in contrast to the previous lines, groups of more than two pitches occur in the refrain 'Heu mihi misero': this may indicate a melodic emphasis.[7]

A more general example of the initial statement that the individual often gives way to a refrain in which all human beings are swept up, can be observed in one of the songs of this collection that also found its way into the Cambridge Songbook (compiled around 1050).[8] *Audax es, vir iuvenis* (MGH Poetae IV, p. 495; CC, no. 18, pp. 77–83) comprises a long series of warnings, directed towards a young man ('vir iuvenis'), to be mindful of the fleetingness of time and his own mortality and weakness. Arranged poetically as an abecedary, this series is interrupted and underscored by a refrain that directs the 'contemptus mundi' topos generally at the man ('homo'). It could be considered as the real response of a group of co-performers intervening vocally in the song and announcing their approbation:

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[6] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1154. See Sam Barrett, 'Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154', in *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), 55–96.

[7] Sam Barrett, 'Notated Ninth- and Tenth-Century Poetic Collections', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2000), II, 89–93.

[8] For the most recent edition of this collection, see *The Cambridge Songbook (Carmina Cantabrigiensia)*, ed. and trans. by Jan M. Ziolkowski (New York: Garland, 1994); henceforth CC.

Audax es, vir iuvenis	You are rash, young man:
Dum fervet caro mobilis,	so long as your fickle flesh is hot,
Audacter agis perperam,	you commit crimes boldly,
Tua membra coinquinas.	you pollute your members.
Adtende, homo, quia pulvis es	Remember, man, that you are dust
Et in pulverem revertis.	and into dust you will return.
	Trans. by Jan M. Ziolkowski

Further forms and effects of refrains first found in the song collections of the Carolingian epoch are still in evidence in the Cambridge collection. Two different refrains—one at the end of the line, one at the end of the stanza—occur in the following song in the collection (CC, no. 83, pp. 161–163). They both elicit a litany-like effect and are only loosely connected to the progression of thought in the song:

Virgo, dei genetrix eia obsecra,	Virgin, mother of God, please! intercede
Pro criminibus nostris eia obsecra,	for our sins, please! intercede
Ut post cursum fragilis vite	That after the course of this frail life
Possimus vivere, obsecra.	we may be able to live,intercede.
	Trans. by Jan Ziolkowski

In another of the Cambridge Songs, *David regis inclita prolis* (CC no. 81, pp. 157–8), the singers of the refrain join in with the cry of David after Saul. Independently of whether the number of singers actually increased or not, the repetition of words and lines, which is even more luxuriant in the refrain, gives the impression of an increasing density in sound, an intensification in sheer vocality. No notated redaction to either of these songs has survived. This is also true of the oldest extant dance song in Latin whose text was entered on the last folio of the Cambridge Songbook but subsequently rendered illegible in parts by a medieval reader. The invitation of a woman to a man takes the following form in Peter Dronke's reconstruction and translation:[9]

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[9] Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965; 2nd ed. 1968), p. 274. The translation can also be found in Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric* (London: Hutchinson, 1968), pp. 189–190.

1 Ven\<i\>, d\<ilectissim\>e, et a et o,	Come to me, my dearest love,—with ah! and oh!
gratam me \<in\>visere,	Visit me—what joys you'll have
et a et o et a et o!	with ah! and oh! and ah! and oh!
2 In languore pereo	I am dying with desire,
et a et o,	with ah! and oh!
\<Venerem de\>sidero	How I long for Venus' fire!
et a et o et a et o!	with ah! and oh! and ah! and oh!
4 Si cum clave veneris	If you come and bring your key,
et a et o,	with ah! and oh!
\<mo\>x intrare poteris	How easy will your entry be!
et a et o et a et o!	with ah! and oh! and ah! and oh!

The role of the refrains in this song is not unequivocally discernible from the text. Insofar as they are not merely a play on sounds, the changing vowels could signal the sighing of the woman if one imagines, along with Peter Dronke, the refrain as concrete ejaculations from a group interrupting a single, dancing singer, or the chorus could 'in the sounds of the refrain [...] mischievously imitate cries of longing, or anticipated joy, of mock surprise, knowing complicity or pretended shock'.[10] The refrain form of another dance song, the occitan *Al entrada del tens clar, eya* (Example 2), resembles, in its function, the previous example and also, in the structure and formulation of the refrain, the abovementioned Cambridge song *Virgo dei genetrix*. Besides its final refrain—which has possibly survived in a defective form melodically—there is a further refrain which ends each of the first four lines of text. The lines themselves rhyme and begin in an identical manner melodically. They are only then individualized through the changing melodic suffixes of the refrain which appear in two forms: *apertum* (a melodic repetition of the opening of the line heard as an open ending) and *clausum* (a return to the end note of the line heard as a closing gesture).

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[10] Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 190

A   l'en - tra - de   del   tens clar.   e - y - a
Pir   joi - e   re - com - men - car,   e - y - a
E   pir   ja - lous   ir - ri - tar   e - y - a
Vol   la   re - gi - ne   mo - strar   .....

Example 2: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 20050, fol. 82ᵛ.

Irrespective of the forms and situations in which these songs were sung, and irrespectively of whether the sacred ones among them exercised a liturgical function or not, the repetition consummated in the acclamatory, proclamatory, affirmative, adhortative, or responsorial refrain forms stands out as a moment of ritual confirmation in the sacred compositions, and as a moment of stylized social action in the secular ones. This form of the refrain in the Old Song seems as timeless as the types of song in which it appears. One could speak of a real, performative and functional refrain: in the liturgical context of 'ritual' and in the secular context possibly of 'occasionality' (*usus*). The refrain produces a twofold duality in the workings of the song: a duality of progression and linearity, and of repetition and circularity. This corresponds to the duality of call and response between solo singer and the singing or dancing.

The Refrain in the New Song

As the aesthetic signature of a lower stylistic register—that of the Minor Song (i.e. songs of Johannes de Grocheio's cantilena-class)—the refrain is a peripheral phenomenon in the vernacular new song of the troubadours. It seldom appears and only then in forms which reduce the repetitive element to a minimum (mostly amounting to a single word). Moreover, its latent responsorial effect is subsumed into the declamatory monologue texture of the courtly song to such an extent that it neither interrupts nor disturbs it. Thus, the repetition of a single word in an identical position (termed 'word refrain' or 'word rhyme') can indeed be understood as operating in the grey area between refrain and tautological rhyme.

Several well-known examples of this can be found in songs of the oldest generation of troubadours. In Marcabru's 'Crusading Song', each appearance of the word 'lavador' ('washing place') at the end of the sixth line of the strophe is contextualised in a new manner syntactically. In his Pastorela, the word 'vilayna' ('peasant girl') recurs at the end of the middle lines as the term for the protagonist. In Jaufre Rudel's 'Song of the Distant Beloved', the guiding thematic idea is repeated in the forms 'de loing' ('from afar') and 'loing' ('distant') at the end of lines 2 and 4. In both cases, the traditional place of the refrain at the end of the strophe is avoided.

In Marcabru's 'Crusading Song' the three-syllable word 'Escoutatz' forms an independent line of refrain within the stanzas, allowing the singer to interrupt the flow in thought and song.[11] This recurring injunction to the listeners is sung not as an arresting exclamation but, with the melody descending to the deeper ranges of the tessitura, in a pointedly lowered voice. Thus the group—in this case courtly society—is also present in this refrain—not, indeed, in the sense of participating in the song, but rather as being its addressee.

In contrast to the courtly song, refrains can be found in the corpus of the new Latin liturgical song in great numbers and in a multitude of different guises. A new type of refrain appears alongside the more traditional variant which functioned in a performative manner as a song to accompany motion. It is symptomatic of the artistic ambition of the New Song. Thus the elements that recur from stanza to stanza can encompass formal aspects of the text (such as single lines of poetry) or even individual words mostly, if certainly not always, at the end of the line or stanza. For example, the refrain at the end of each stanza in the Benedicamus song *Congaudeat turba fidelium* is 'In Bethlehem'. Naturally, these two words do not constitute a separate afterthought but are integrated into both the stanzaic melody and also the syntax and thematic content of each strophe. These stanzas come to a conclusion melodically through a descent to the final, a pitch that only otherwise occurs after the opening half-line at 'Congaudeat'. Thus, the refrain is linked to the previous line endings in a relationship of *ouvert-clos*. The first three stanzas of the song will serve to demonstrate the textual connection to the previous lines:

Congaudeat	turba fidelium,	Let the company of the faithful rejoice,
natus est rex,	salvator omnium	the king is born, Saviour of all
	in Bethlehem.	in Bethlehem.

Laudem celi	nuntiat angelus	The angel announces with praise of heaven
et in terris	pacem hominibus	and on earth peace to men
	in Bethlehem.	in Bethlehem.

Loquebantur	pastores invicem:	The shepherds said to each other:
'Transeamus	ad novum hominem	'Let us go to the new man
	in Bethlehem.'	in Bethlehem.'

The effects of the refrain in the Benedicamus song for Christmas *Mira dies oritur* (Example 3) are more intricate.

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[11] See the editions—of text and music—and translations of the three songs in *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères, An Anthology of Poems and Melodies*, ed. by Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot (New York: Garland, 1998), pp. 51–53, 49–51, and 56–57, respectively.
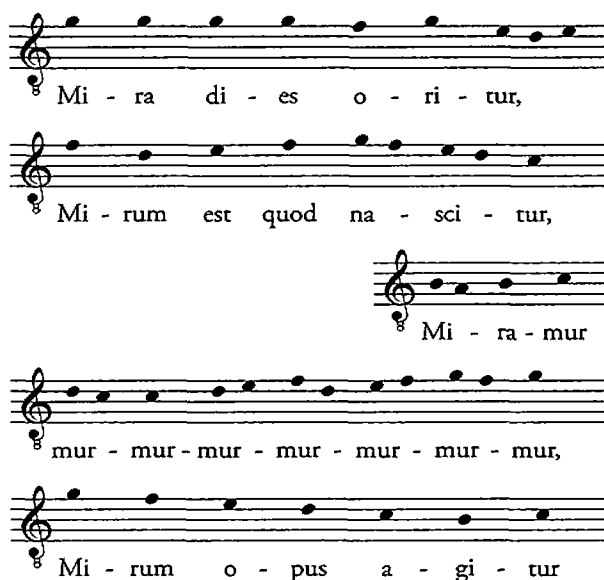
Example 3: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3719, fol. 38ᵛ.

One of the moments of repetition is limited to the morphing inflections of the same word in an identical position in the strophe. Inserted as a three-syllable short line in the midst of seven-syllable lines, the verb 'mirari' ('to wonder', 'to be in awe') turns up in the forms 'miramur', 'mirandum', 'miranda', 'mirari', and 'mirando'. At the beginning of the first two lines of this 'Song of Wonderment' a supplementary codicil to this resonating grammatical exercise comes to the fore in the form of alternating cases of the adjective 'mirus'. The object of this amazement is the Christmas mystery. Despite the lack of literal repetition, the refrain function of this short line girds itself and is further galvanized further by means of a spectacular vocal effect: the all-important inflecting syllable in each stanza is broken off and repeated six times to a rising melodic pattern. This results in a string of syllables corresponding exactly to the length of the line. Thus, in terms of poetic architecture, the verbal ornament is a fully worthy and independent aspect of the form. It also functions as a building block of the melody: the first two lines form a bipartite period. The third line is self-contained, ending, like the second, on *c*. Then comes the syllabic word-play which could semantically be considered as an overenthusiastic expression of the joy surrounding the Christmas mystery. Thus it is not simply a melodic extension of the third line, whose final syllable it takes up textually, but a self-sufficient line. The melody rises to the upper fifth on which the song began: it then returns in stepwise motion to *c*. In their ascending and descending motion, lines 4 and 5 therefore come together as a single period in which the playful cascade of

consonants assumes the role of a defining element in the song's melodic structure. A further intimation of refrain is the repetition of the last line of the first stanza, 'Admirando studio', at the end of the second, and the repetition of the last line of the fourth stanza, 'Ex utero filio', at the end of the fifth. Both lines are integrated into the syntax of the two stanzas, and both rhyme, just as the last line of the middle stanza, 'Pro mundi remedio', does with the concluding exclamation of the song, 'Benedicamus domino'. Apart from the exhortative 'benedicamus', the word 'miramur', which forms the first instance of the conjugated refrain, is the only verb in the first person plural. This may be no coincidence. Through the refrain, the liturgical community articulates itself as the celebrating subject, and this evokes the idea of a group intervening vocally—a group which is a reality in the performative refrain of the Old Song. However, in a case such as *Mira dies oritur*, the refrain is not simply an element of performance, but rather an element of composition. One could scarcely have emphasized this refrain underway by means of a change in performing resources. Thus, it would be possible to speak in opposition to a performative, real refrain of a text-immanent, virtual refrain.

As in Marcabru's 'Escoutatz', the 'miramur' of the Christmas song functions as a parenthesis in the flow of the song, thereby interrupting a series of longer verses. In the same way, refrain words or—more rarely—refrain lines occur in the provençal canzonas whereby they constitute not only a discrete, miniature form of the refrain, but are simultaneously the only exception to the rule about avoiding refrains as a result of their affinity to spurned compositional methods.

Thus a functional element of the Old Song gains aesthetic validity in the New Song around 1100. Connotations of the real refrain nevertheless proved especially durable. After 1300, an aesthetic ennoblement of the refrain takes place. The forms of the new polyphonic art song whose emergence is linked with the names of Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut (1300 to 1370) are without exception refrain forms: virelai, ballade and rondeau. The New Great Song appears in the form of the Old Minor.

(Translated by Jeremy Llewellyn)

A Paulinus of Aquileia *versus* in Eleventh-century Italy

JEREMY LLEWELLYN

In the 1030s, the scriptorium attached to the cathedral of Bologna must have been awash with a variegated array of manuscript materials.* From the *libelli* with tropes and sequences, liturgical chants for the mass, scraps of poetic compositions, occasional antiphons, notated or unnotated, emerged a composite manuscript adequate for, and fitting to, the ritual needs of an episcopal establishment: an impressive gradual book, now housed at the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome with the shelfmark, ms. 123.[1] The presence of illuminations was but one

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[1] A facsimile of the entire manuscript—henceforth RoA123—exists as *Paléographie Musicale* vol. 18, *Le codex 123 de la Bibliothèque Angelica de Rome (XIᵉ siècle): Graduel et tropaire de Bologne* (Berne: Lang, 1969). For information on the contents and codicological structure of the manuscript, see, Luciano Gherardi, 'Il codice angelica 123: Monumenta della chiesa bolognese nel sec. XI', *Quadrivium* III (1959), 5–114 (especially, pp. 9–10). A recent miscellany on various aspects of the manuscript including dating and notation has recently been published, see *Codex Angelicus 123: Studi sul graduale-tropario bolognese del secolo XI e sui manoscritti collegati*, ed. by Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani and Giampaolo Ropa (Cremona: Una Cosa Rara, 1996). The suggestion that tropes circulated in small gatherings *(libelli)* has been made in Michel Huglo, 'Les "Libelli" de Tropes et les premiers Tropaires-Prosaires', in *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences: In Memory of Gordon Anderson*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 29 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986), 13–22.

aspect of a collective undertaking to provide the manuscript with a particular visual profile; an undertaking that went beyond the mere collecting, collating and compiling of older materials.[2] Thus the copying work effected by the scribes and notators of RoA123 could be considered a performative act in a quite literal sense: they gave material form to the previously diffuse. The purpose of this article is to take, in a metaphorical sense, this image of scribal endeavour in RoA123 two steps further. First, it sets out to gauge the extent to which music came to articulate the verse form of one particular medieval Latin composition in the manuscript. Second, it investigates how this musico-textual complex, through a process of ritualisation, was realized in performance within the liturgy. By tracing this concatenation of performative acts from copying procedures to liturgical celebration in a reception context, the individuality of the redaction in RoA123 of the composition in question —*Gloriam deo in excelsis hodie*—will emerge.

Before embarking on this quest, it is necessary briefly to describe the particular verse form deployed in *Gloriam deo* since this impinges on an understanding of both its presentation in RoA123 and its melodic realization in performance. The composition is stanzaic, organized according to a verse form which has been termed 'pseudo-Sapphic'.[3] This designation primarily encapsulates the dimensions of the verse form in question and its correspondence to Sapphic models from Antiquity; namely, a stanza consisting of four lines of which the last—labelled an adonic, or *comma heroicum* in medieval usage—is considerably shorter.[4] The term also marks out a difference of singular performative import in the organisation of the first three lines: the quantitative scansion of metrical verse in classical models gave way to a reading based on patterns of accentual, or rhythmical, stress. This phenomenon, with its concomitant historical dimension, has been subsumed by Dag Norberg under the general heading of 'imitation'.[5] Such practices of imitation led to a regularization of syllable count in lines and to especial care being accorded the cadential rhythms not only at the end of lines, but also at half-lines before the standard position of the

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[2] For a description of the illuminations, see Edward B. Garrison, 'A Gradual of S. Stefano, Bologna, Angelica 123', in *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, 4 vols (Florence: L'Impronta, 1953–1962), IV (1960), 93–110.

[3] See Peter Stotz, *Sonderformen der Sapphischen Dichtung* (Munich: Fink, 1982), especially the section in which Stotz traces the modern coining of the term 'pseudo-Sapphic' and discusses *Gloriam Deo* among his examples, pp. 347–78.

[4] See Bede's description of the Sapphic verse form in Bede, *De arte metrica*, PL 90, col. 171.

[5] Dag Norberg's seminal—and now out-of-print—work in which numerous examples of imitation are analysed has recently been translated into English: Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* trans. by Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de la Chapelle Skubly, ed. with introduction by Jan Ziolkowski (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004).

metrical caesura in Classical models.[6] Indeed, Sam Barrett argues that melodic delivery may have played a role in this process of transformation within verse composition.[7] Thus according to Norberg, the four lines of the pseudo-Sapphic stanzas in *Gloriam deo*, and their accentual patterns, could be represented by the following scheme: 3 x (5p + 7pp) + 5p.

'Incip versus. In nat dni. ante eps'

So reads the unexpanded rubric for the first item, *Gloriam deo in excelsis hodie*, entered for the third mass for Christmas Day in RoA123.[8] The composition extends over five folios and, with its inked initials, text spacing and neumation, reveals itself to be a stanzaic composition with no fewer than forty-one stanzas. It retells the biblical account of the birth of Christ, replete with angelic hosts, wise men, the slaughter of the Holy Innocents and a surprisingly sulphureous end to King Herod. In this way, it provides a detailed backdrop to the particular themes taken up by the next chant presented, the troped Introit, *Puer natus est*. This pattern of *versus* or hymn followed by troping is found at other junctures in RoA123. Indeed, for the feast of the Epiphany there is even a correlation between the spatial directions for performance indicated in the rubrics, albeit this time with the correct accusative, 'ante ep[iscopu]m'. This gives the impression of a stationary event—a point which will be re-visited later—and possibly refers to the ritual reception of the bishop.[9]

There is no indication in RoA123 concerning the authorship of the text. In fact, there are no contemporary manuscript attributions accompanying *Gloriam deo*; the connection with Paulinus of Aquileia first having been made in the sixteenth century by George Cassander in his hymn publication on the basis of a now lost manuscript from Fulda.[10] In the most recent, full-scale work devoted to the poetic output of Paulinus, Norberg concurs with the attribution, arguing on stylistic grounds.[11] That

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[6] The importance of these line endings in rhythmical verse was recognized by Norberg who provided a simple schematic means of representing these accentual patterns. The accents generally occurred either on the penultimate syllable (labelled 'p' for paroxytone) or on the antepenultimate ('pp', for proparoxytone). See Norberg, *An Introduction*.

[7] Sam Barrett 'The Rhythmical Songs of Paulinus of Aquileia', forthcoming.

[8] The composition can be found at the bottom of fol. 187ᵛ.

[9] This has been suggested by Giacomo Baroffio partially on the basis of the presence of a section of antiphons in RoA123 (fol. 181ᵛ) bearing the rubric 'ad ep[iscopu]m suscipiendu[m]'; see, Giacomo Baroffio, 'Antifone e versus pre-introitali nell'Italia settentrionale: La testimonianza del tropario di Intra', (in print).

[10] Noted in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 50: *Hymnographi Latini: Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters* ed. by Guido Maria Dreves (Leipzig: Reisland, 1907), p. 126.

[11] Dag Norberg, *L'œuvre poétique de Paulin d'Aquilée* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975), pp. 55–58. Norberg's monograph includes a critical edition of the *versus*, pp. 131–37 to which reference will be made. It should, in addition, be noted that the scribe of RoA123

the ecclesiastical politician, theologian and poet Paulinus also composed music is attested to by several members of the Carolingian court. Walahfrid Strabo famously comments on Paulinus's use of his own hymnic compositions in terms of pieces sung at the point of consecration in his 'private masses' ('in privatis missis').[12] This use would seem to be a far cry from the presentation of the text—and music—in RoA123, where *Gloriam deo* is accorded pride of place in public Christmas festivities, *episcopus* and all.

By the middle of the tenth century, *Gloriam deo* had achieved a broad dissemination stretching from north east Francia to Aquitaine and, over the Alps, into central Italy.[13] Although a swathe of eleventh- and twelfth-century chant manuscripts from northern and central Italy display a significant degree of repertorial overlap with respect to tropes and sequences, only RoA123 contains this *versus*. It thereby furnishes the sole eleventh-century witness to this Carolingian composition, separated by as much as a century from other transmissions.[14] From the complete extant transmission of *Gloriam deo*, only two of the five written testimonies contain notation: the version in RoA123, and that in the late ninth- or early tenth century collection of *versus*, Pa1154, neumed, according to Sam Barrett on account of the heighting, in the late tenth century.[15]

With respect to the written presentation of *Gloriam deo* in RoA123, it is apparent that only the first few strophes are neumed. The notation stops abruptly in the middle of the eleventh stanza whilst the text continues alone for a further thirty. The passage where the neumes stop seems to be quite arbitrary from the point of view of both the narrative and compositional design of the *versus*. A comparison of *Gloriam deo* with the Gospel account from Luke—which undoubtedly served as its model at this

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compressed two stanzas of *Gloriam Deo* (stanzas 17 and 18), thus giving a final tally of forty-one, as opposed to the forty-two stanzas of the edition. In the following, stanza numbers principally refer to the critical edition.

[12] Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, ed. and trans. with commentary by Alice L. Harting-Correa (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 160–61.

[13] Details of the manuscript transmission are given in Appendix I, along with other shelfmark abbreviatons used in this article.

[14] RoA123 was not collated by Ernst Dümmler in his edition of *Gloriam Deo*; see, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi*, II: *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884; repr. 1964), pp. 144–46. It was, however, included in the not entirely reliable critical apparatus put together in *AH*, 50. Norberg's Paulinus monograph (see, n. 12) has, in any case, superceded these two editions thanks to its more comprehensive collation and superior accuracy. Moreover, this critical edition indicates which manuscripts contain neumes.

[15] Sam Barrett, 'On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), p. 86.

point—demonstrates that the messenger-angel is only halfway through his tidings-telling to the shepherds when the notation breaks off.[16] From this perspective, the disturbance in the visual presentation in *Gloriam deo* is perplexing. On first inspection, it may appear as if one was presumably meant to carry on singing until the end of the piece.[17] The concluding of the neumation, however, coincides with a new copying procedure on the part of the text scribe which places this assumption under strain. After the neumation ends, the previously considerate space left between words for more melismatic neume passages shrinks and a sudden increase in textual abbreviations occurs. Moreover, in comparison with the critical edition of the *versus* established by Norberg, various portions of text are missing from the redaction in RoA123 which results in the warping of the pseudo-Sapphic verse form.[18]

Thus, there is a noticeable discrepancy not only in the presentation of text before and after the neumation ends, but also a discrepancy in the quality of the two portions of text (reflected in the lack of concern shown in the latter portion for those parameters which had been carefully considered in the first). Before addressing why this change came about at this specific point—that is, delimiting the form-giving initiative of the text scribe of RoA123—it is necessary to consider the immediate copying history of the scribe and the type of exemplar for *Gloriam deo* he might have had in front of him.

Three folios before *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 (fol. 184ᵛ), the scribe copied the hymnic composition *A solis ortu cardine quadrato* as an introduction to the first mass for Christmas. The first few words of the text recall a widely transmitted *versus* by Sedulius (*fl* first half of fifth century), sections of which were performed in the Middle Ages as hymns during the Christmas season. In common with Sedulius's composition, the text in RoA123 is composed in an abecedary fashion; that is, each of the stanzas begins with a letter of the alphabet in ascending order.[19] However, one principal difference is that the Sedulius-inspired composition in RoA123 is in

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[16] Cf. Luke 2. 8–12.

[17] The impossibility, or not, of singers being able to perform from a corrupt text is a moot point; perhaps it is more constructive to compare the situation in RoA123 with the redaction of *Gloriam Deo* in Vro88, where only a selection of the first fourteen stanzas covering the birth of Christ plus the final two stanzas, the last doxological, were copied. The thematic consistency of this selection and the presence of the doxology suggest a deliberate editing of the text for performance.

[18] See, Norberg, *L'œuvre poétique* pp. 135 and 137, stanzas 29 and 41 respectively. The laxity of respecting the verse form also manifests itself in the contrary manner: despite the more succinct profile of the final adonic—marked in RoA123 by punctuation signs—there are two cases where the concluding five-syllable *membrum* has been inflated; see, 'Iacob qui regitur' for 'Iacob qui regit' (stanza 24), and 'in regionem suam' for 'in regionem' (stanza 34).

[19] For further examples of the use of this structuring principle in medieval Latin verse, see the article by Andreas Haug in this volume.

Sapphic verse form.[20] This was in part realized visually by the scribe who, in the course of copying *A solis ortu cardine quadrato* into RoA123, introduced punctuation signs to mark out not only the ends of stanzas, but also—sporadically—the ends of individual lines of verse. At the start of the ninth stanza beginning 'Inquiens', he begins to abbreviate his text more markedly. In the middle of this stanza, the neumation that has been comprehensively entered up to this point ceases. The text continues alone—running along the original ruling that left space above for notation—until the end of the composition.

Thus two assumptions can be made about the copying procedures of the scribe before he began to enter *Gloriam deo* in RoA123: he was aware of the dimensions of the Sapphic verse form, and he probably intended to copy only a portion of the text out in full, before beginning to abbreviate. In addition, there is evidence to suggest that he had to contend with copying the Paulinus *versus* from an exemplar, and, more specifically, from an exemplar that was itself abbreviated.[21] The particular nexus of errors, expansions and abbreviations across the whole of the redaction of *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 gives some indication of the format, and possible dating, of this exemplar. If it was indeed abbreviated with precious little space between words, it is unlikely to have been conceived for musical notation (although that may well have been added later). Such abbreviated, unnotated *versus* collections are to be found in the Italian peninsula in the tenth century.[22] Thus in all probability, the scribe of *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 began copying his text by expanding abbreviations found in his exemplar, although he intended at a later stage to abbreviate the text himself. He thereby effected a translation of the visual form of the *versus*, a process completed by the addition of neumes which went far beyond the 'archival'

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[20] Bede cites the Sedulius composition as an example of a 'metrum iambicum tetrametrum' (a verse form consisting of four lines of iambs); see, Bede, *De arte metrica*, PL 90, col. 172. For an edition of *A solis ortu cardine quadrato*, see *AH*, 23, pp. 13–16.

[21] Particularly illustrative in this respect is the formulation of the third line of stanza 20 in RoA123 which Norberg expands in the critical appratus as 'tres magis conperdocente spiritus' as opposed to 'tres magi sancto perdocente spiritu' of the edition proper. The meaning of the RoA123 formulation is cryptic in comparison with the latter, 'the three Magi, having been taught by the Holy Ghost, [...]'. It could be that the exemplar of the scribe of RoA123 contained the abbreviation 'sco' (with bar above) for 'sancto' at this point. He might then simply have copied 'magi' to include the first 's' of the abbreviation before expanding the remaining 'co' to produce an additional prefix to the following word 'perdocente'.

[22] A prime example of this type of collection would be Vro90, described as a 'schoolbook' in Corinna Bottiglieri, 'I codici veronesi di ritmi latini: Origini e problemi con l'edizione del ritmo *Audite filii hominum* (ms. Verona, Bibl. Cap. LXXXVIII)', in *Poesia dell'alto Medioevo europeo: Manoscritti, lingua e musica dei ritmi latini*, ed. by Franceso Stella (Firenze: SISMEL, 2000), pp. 275–98 (p. 277).

requirements of attaching a particular melodic formulation to the first stanza of a stanzaic composition.[23]

It is against this background that the breaking off in the eleventh stanza of the neumation can be viewed:

Norberg, st. 20. 2–3:

hodie quia vobis Christus dominus | natus est Bethleem   Davidis in oppido

RoA123:

hodie vobis   chr[istu]s deus   natus est | bethleem. betheleem davidis in oppido.

In his critical apparatus at this juncture, Norberg's extensive quotation of the whole line shows the demise of the word 'quia'.[24] Grammatically, syntactically, and rhythmically the version of this second pseudo-Sapphic line in RoA123 makes perfect sense. Theologically, however, the pairing of Christ with the word 'God' attracts attention since it departs from the biblical narrative of St Luke's Gospel which served as the model for the *versus*. The first and only occurrence in the text of Christ's godhead appears in stanza 33, at the Adoration of the Magi.[25] This fits with the Epiphany theme of the revelation of Christ to the Gentiles and concords with one of the *tria miracula*, the baptism of Christ in the Jordan by John. It is therefore surprising that this pairing occurs so early on in the account of RoA123.

It could be that some form of the abbreviation 'ds' was used in the exemplar that the text-scribe of RoA123 was copying from and that he wrongly expanded it. Another, more likely possibility, is that the word 'quia' had been abbreviated to just a 'q' (or even missed out entirely) and that the scribe of RoA123 simply passed over it. In this case, he took 'ds' as a two-syllable noun thereby completing the twelve-syllable line up to 'natus est'. Having then copied the first word of the third line ('Bethleem'), he realized that he was three syllables short of completing the half-line up to the caesura. His solution consisted of repeating the central geographical locus of the Biblical narrative at this point, not only repeating it, but literally expanding it to three syllables ('Betheleem'). In this way, the length of the pseudo-Sapphic line was maintained. Yet it is possible that this word repetition disturbed the momentum

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[23] For the difference between an 'archival' use of notation (where one stanza only is notated) and an 'explanatory' use (where metrical irregularities are accommodated), see Susan Boynton, 'Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1997; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997), especially pp. 44–85; and more recently, Susan Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 99–168.

[24] Norberg, *L'oeuvre poétique*, p. 133

[25] Stanza 33, line 3: 'aurum, thus, myrram obtulerant domino, | regi deoque' ('they offered gold, frankincense and myrrh to the lord: king and God').

of copying since it is at this juncture that he took the decision to start abbreviating the text in RoA123.

The question, therefore, arises concerning the ambiguity of the number of syllables contained in 'Bethleem' which the scribe of RoA123 exploited at this point in his redaction of *Gloriam deo*. That he presented two possibilities side-by-side indicates that he was aware of this ambiguity and this, in turn, suggests experience of different contexts in which the word was enunciated. These experiences might have been shared with the notator who entered the neumes for *Gloriam deo* since the notation of the three appearances of 'Bethleem' in the neumed section of the *versus* consistently read the word as containing three syllables. Indeed, the notator enters an extra neume on these occasions rather than splitting ligatures, thereby revealing a melodic strategy to accommodate syllables considered in excess of the verse structure. These intimations of other contexts in which 'Bethleem' was pronounced—possibly in terms of biblical recitation or even vernacular usage— underline the centrality of the venerable place name in the consciousness of those celebrating the Christmas mystery.[26]

Thus, while the principal performative achievement of the scribe who entered *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 was material, it was informed by an understanding of Sapphic and related verse forms and the vocal qualities of the text copied. It is impossible to discern whether the scribe was reciting or singing the Paulinus *versus* as he expanded the first eleven stanzas of text from the putative abbreviations of his exemplar: there certainly appears to be a change in copying procedures after this point. Nevertheless, the end product is a testimony to the collective endeavours of the scribe and notator in transforming *Gloriam deo* into a composition fit for the opening of the episcopal celebration of Christmas day in eleventh-century Bologna.

At a palaeographical level, the written presentation of *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 seems to reveal a certain scribal inventiveness complemented by notational assiduity. The deliberate policy of neuming the first eleven stanzas of the *versus*—going beyond, thereby, a purely archival function—had the effect not only of firmly marrying this specific melody to this specific poetic text, but also of underlining the stability of the melodic formulation itself. Yet there can be little doubt from the dates of the transmission that the material redaction of *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 was the result of a process of cultural exchange. Thus the question arises concerning the extent to which this melodic stability reflects a local response to a particular

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[26] A later, fourteenth-century example of this phenomenon was noted by Erich Auerbach who records medieval reports of St Francis of Assisi bleating like a sheep when he pronounced the word 'Bethleem' during Christmas celebrations at the manger. It could be that the labial plosive 'b' linking 'Bethleem' to 'balare' ('to bleat') was the prime motivating factor behind this mimesis, but it could also have been inspired by the re-iteration of syllables within the word; see, Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 168.

constellation of parameters impinging on composition: these undoubtedly include an understanding of the poetic verse form; the availability and adequacy of pre-existing melodic strategies to articulate this form; and the ritual trajectory of the *versus* within the liturgy.

In assessing these individual parameters, a compositional horizon of expectation, however ephemeral, for the melodic reception of *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 can begin to be construed. To this end, three distinct chants from eleventh-century north Italian manuscripts have been selected for investigation—putting together, thereby, a palette of analytical criteria which, in their relative proximity geographically and historically, can subsequently be applied to the neumed redaction of the Paulinus *versus* in RoA123. The choice of these chants has been restricted to those with texts in Sapphic or 'pseudo-Sapphic' verse form; the poetic structuring that most closely resembles that deployed in *Gloriam deo*. This is a deliberate policy to approach a putative connection between the Italian melodic redaction of Paulinus's *versus* and the earlier Aquitanian formulation from an alternative direction: first to discern the possible initiative of the notators of RoA123 in an north Italian context before comparing the two melodic formulations which straddle the Alps.

The Antiphon: 'Gloria laudis resonet'

Of the 5517 antiphons, catalogued by René-Jean Hesbert, for use during the office throughout the liturgical year in medieval monastic and secular establishments, only two are in Sapphic form.[27] In view of this stark statistical discrepancy, it is not surprising that this antiphon pair owes its genesis to a particular set of circumstances. As Ritva Jacobssen has noted, the two Sapphic chants form part of the office of the Trinity, compiled by Stephen of Lüttich in the tenth century.[28] Moreover, the chant in question—*Gloria laudis resonet*—originally formed the final doxological stanza of a hymnic composition by Alcuin for St Vedastus: in a subsequent process of refunctionalisation, it was extracted from this context and inserted into the Trinity office by virtue of its thematic content which praised Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The relationship between the music, text and verse form of *Gloria laudis resonet* has recently be scrutinized by Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug; thus for the purposes of this study, it is only necessary to supplement their findings by addressing the eleventh-century Italian aspect of the chant's transmission.[29] The

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[27] *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. by René-Jean Hesbert, 6 vols (Rome: Herder, 1963–79), III (1968), xi.

[28] Ritva Jacobssen, 'Versified Office', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 26, p. 495.

[29] Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, 'Text und Musik im Trinitätsoffizium Stephans von Lüttich: Beobachtungen und Überlegungen aus mittellateinischer und musikhistorischer

following example, therefore, presents the text and accompanying neumation of *Gloria laudis resonet* found in Vro98, an antiphoner copied in Verona in the second half of the eleventh century with a version on lines in the twelfth-century Pia65:

Example 1: *Gloria laudis resonet*, Vro98 (staffless neumes, eleventh century) and Pia65 (twelfth century).

Björkvall and Haug observe that the melodic formulation reads the text of *Gloria laudis resonet* as prose, not verse.[30] Thus there is no melodic articulation at the end of the first line of the Sapphic form at *ore*; a closing gesture is, however, found 'over-the-line' at *omnium*. The melody thereby respects the sense of the words above metrical considerations ('let the glory of praise resound in the mouth | of all'). Moreover, this concern for articulating sense-units is further in evidence in the melodic parallelism now deployed for the next section of text: this 'glory' is owed equally to the Father, his progeny and the Holy Ghost where the same, swooping intonation formula (characteristic of mode III), renewed ascent to *d* and close on *g* as occurred in the opening sense-unit is repeated. In other words, the structuring component of the Sapphic verse form is dissolved in the musical delivery of the antiphon *Gloria laudis resonet*.

Haug argues, however, that the Sapphic verse form remained present, at least subliminally, in the mind of the notator of a manuscript from St Gall, copied around 1000.[31] In this antiphoner, a performance indication was entered above the neumes warning singers not to slow down at *ore*: exactly the point at which the end of the first Sapphic line would have been expected. Furthermore, there may have been other ways in which the underlying presence of the Sapphic verse form asserted itself in the melodic surface of *Gloria laudis resonet*, intimations which will ultimately illuminate the compositional complexity posed by a melodic realization of Sapphic verse forms. Whilst the first closing gesture of the antiphon is to be found three syllables after the end of the initial eleven-syllable Sapphic line, a more modest articulation occurs on the structurally significant pitch *c*—the recitation tone for mode III—at *laudis*. This articulation coincides with the standard metrical caesura in a Sapphic line which separated the first five syllables off from the following six. Moreover, the slight melodic lengthening on *lau(dis)* falls in the position of a quantatively long syllable. A similar procedure is also employed at *proli*, although this word occurs at the end of the second line:

Glōrĭā *lāudĭs*	ˇ	rĕsŏnēt ĭn ōrĕ
ōmnĭūm pātrī	ˇ	gĕnĭtĕquĕ *prōlĭ*
spīrĭtŭī sānctō	ˇ	părītēr rĕsūltăt
lāudĕ pĕrēnnĭ		

There may have been purely musical reasons for the melodic lengthening at *laudis*: the need to establish a modal framework with its patterning of significant and less significant pitches. This would explain the melodic emphasis accorded *laudis* as part of a modally-defining intonation formula; the same might hold true for its repetition at *proli*. Of relevance, too, are the coinciding word boundaries between the pre-caesural texts of the metrical antiphon *Gloria laudis resonet* and the rhythmical Paulinus *versus* under examination, *Gloriam deo*:

antiphon:	Glōrĭā lāudĭs	ˇ	rĕsŏnēt ĭn ōrĕ
Paulinus *versus*:	Gloriam déo	ˇ	in excelsis hódie

As the example demonstrates, the accentual stress on *de(o)* in the Paulinus *versus* transpires at the same point structurally as the melodic lengthening of *lau(dis)* in the antiphon. The unequal length of the two half-lines or *membra* of a metrical Sapphic line means, however, that the melody of 'Gloria laudis' cannot be repeated literally at 'geniteque proli' in the antiphon: yet both *membra* end with an almost identical melodic stress on the penultimate syllable. This raises the possibility that the specific melodic lengthening at these points in the antiphon reflect a residual understanding of the Sapphic verse form, albeit in the guise of an essentially rhythmical, goal-

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[31] See Haug's discussion of the use of the significative letter 'c' for 'celeriter' ('quickly') at this point in the celebrated Hartker antiphoner, Björkvall and Haug, 'Text und Musik', p. 13; for a plate of the example, see *The New Grove*, 26, p. 497.

oriented reading as opposed to a metrical one. Thus two analytical criteria emerge from an investigation of the antiphon *Gloria laus resonet*, criteria which correspond to compositional conventions that may be presumed to have been present in eleventh-century northern Italy. The first is the rhythmical reconstitution of structurally significant moments in a metrical Sapphic verse form, a strict melodic presentation of this form having been sacrificed for semantic clarity in *Gloria laus resonet*. The second is the possible crossing-over between half-lines and lines of individual melodic patterns with articulative import which, in the specific case of this antiphon, again underline a semantic parsing of the text's theological content.

The Singing Exercise: 'Ut queant laxis'

The second example, perhaps surprisingly, presents an analogous set of circumstances to the antiphon, *Gloria laudis resonet*: a lone-standing metrical Sapphic stanza, excerpted from its original liturgical context, modified melodically and then set in a new performance context. The musical results, however, are strikingly different. The hymn *Ut queant laxis* has been accorded a privileged position in the annals of Western music history as the chant explicitly mentioned by Guido of Arezzo (*c.* 991/2–after 1033) in a letter to the monk Michael at Pomposa by which young boys could internalize a scale pattern of six pitches organized in ascending, stepwise motion.[32] The beginnings of the half-lines of the metrical Sapphic verse form have been assigned pitches in a rising order (*C, D, E*, etc.) which can be memorized by virtue of the syllables with which they are associated: (see p. 109 for example).

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[32] For an edition and translation of the text, see Guido of Arezzo, *Regule ritmice, Prologus in antiphonarium, and Epistola ad Michahelem*, ed. with trans. and commentary by Dolores Pesce (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediæval Music, 1999). For the latest musicological discussion of the hymn with bibliographical information, see Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation', pp. 111–15.
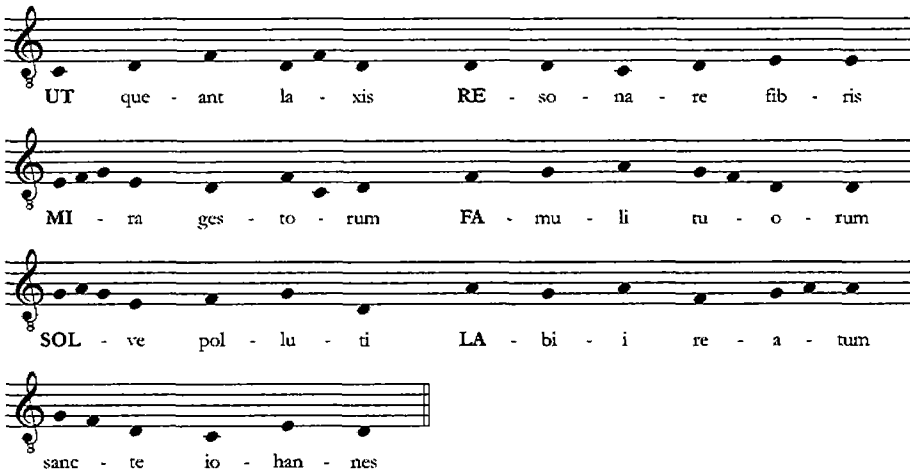
Example 2: *Ut queant laxis*.

It is not necessary for this study to sound the historical origins of this mnemonic hymn stanza, nor its tremendously broad reception in medieval Europe which included a further recontextualization as the melodic clothing for one of Horace's Sapphic odes.[33] Crucial, however, is that Guido was putting together this pedagogical package within a generation of Paulinus's *Gloriam deo* being copied into RoA123 in the first half of the eleventh century, and broadly within the same geographical ambit. Again, elements of the melodic reception of Sapphic verse forms in northern Italy are to be discerned.

This appears all the more important given the singular lack of credit accorded Guido by scholars for the specific choice of a metrical Sapphic form for his didactic designs. As Carl-Allan Moberg remarks with increasing incredulity, the driving force behind the formulation of *Ut queant laxis* cannot have lain in a pre-existing set of solmization syllables re-worked into a poetic composition—the hymn, traditionally ascribed to Paulus Diaconus, can already be found in a manuscript dating from 800—and even less in its supposedly miraculous medicinal effect against hoarseness—the text mentions the loosening of one's vocal apparatus—proposed by some scholars.[34] Instead, Moberg argues that Guido took a hymn

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[33] This particular melody for *Ut queant laxis* is found in connection with a notated redaction of Horace's Sapphic ode *Est mihi nonum* in a French manuscript from the eleventh century; for an investigation of this phenomenon, see Silvia Wälli, *Melodien aus mittelalterlichen Horaz-Handschriften: Edition und Interpretation der Quellen*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi: Subsidia, 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), pp. 279–89.

[34] Carl-Allan Moberg, 'Die Musik in Guido von Arezzos Solmisationshymne', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 16 (1959), 187–206.

melody that was already in circulation and judiciously altered various pitches so as to produce the rising scale of starting tones necessary for his teaching purposes.[35] Yet even this hypothesis of the melodic alteration of *Ut queant laxis*, or the less plausible explanation of a melody composed entirely afresh, do not address the question why the six principal scale degrees needed to be exemplified in a venerable poetic structure consisting, at least in its potential for caesural articulation, of seven *membra*.

In his letter to Michael recommending the new system of learning pitches, Guido was rather tight-lipped in describing the mechanics of the carefully selected verse form: he, after all, presented a diagram. In fact, he only deploys two terms of consequence: the musico-textual complex has 'six particles' (*senae particulae*), each standing at the 'head' (*caput*) of a melodic segment.[36] Thus on the one hand, the individual words of the poetic text can be split into their constituent syllables, and on the other, the very openings of melodic segments are categorically raised to the status of equals. In the coincidence of syllable and pitch lay the beauty of the pedagogical—and compositional—conceit. Yet this is a pedagogy of beginnings—of finding or 'inventing' the unknown in a process of sight-singing, rather than expressing articulations or shaping endings.

Endings, as will become evident, did however have an important role to play in this scheme. But the assuredness with which Guido labels the beginnings of half-lines of the Sapphic verse form as 'heads' belies an especial poetic quality of *Ut queant laxis*. What is particularly noticeable in the first two lines of the hymn is the assonant rhyme occurring in each case before the standard caesura at the fifth syllable and at the end of the line (*laxis–fibris* and *gestorum–famuli tuorum* respectively). It may well have been these assonances, rather than a semantic articulation, that stimulated the melodic segmentation of the text. Furthermore, a melodic presentation which respected the syntactic component of the stanza would have been an especially tall order: the text is constructed in a complex manner, beginning with a causal statement ('Ut queant ...) and only revealing to whom it is addressed ('sancte Johannes') in the final half-line. It could, thus, be claimed that the pedagogical exercise *Ut queant laxis* represents an example of the melodic realization of a Sapphic verse form diametrically opposed to the antiphon *Gloria laudis resonet*: this time, the semantic content of the hymn is dissolved for the sake of a musically-articulated Sapphic structure. For the Sapphic form ultimately provided Guido with an escape mechanism from the melodically inexorable rising of the 'head-particle' of each half-line. The chant unfolded in a processual manner by design, but this design also had consequences for the gradual ascent in the overall tessitura of the melody. Thus by the time the melody has reached the third line of

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[35] Moberg, 'Die Musik', pp. 196–206.

[36] For the passage in question, see Guido of Arezzo, *Epistola ad Michahelem*, ed. by Dolores Pesce, pp. 468–69.

text, it is operating within the higher range of its modal framework: in fact, this line cadences on the fifth above the final *D*. The seventh, and final half-line of the Sapphic verse form therefore allows the melody to descend in a more leisurely, and consequently more definitive manner towards modal closure. This goal-oriented melodic procedure—which rises above the syntactic mêlée of the text—illustrates another facet of Sapphic composition in the eleventh century: the manipulation of tessitura to produce melodic climaxes in a non-repetitive and through-composed form.

The Penitential Song: 'Quis infelici'

It may be argued that the two previous examples, although dating from the eleventh century and although rooted in northern Italy, do not truly furnish an analogous compositional situation to the redaction of Paulinus's *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 if only because of the different nature of the respective verse forms. At its most severe, this criticism might point to the differences between the quantitative, metrical verse of the two examples and the rhythmical verse of Paulinus's composition. It would certainly note the discrepancy between the initial eleven-syllable lines of the metrical Sapphics and the twelve-syllable lines of *Gloriam deo*. Indeed, Norberg has suggested that Paulinus's verse model for imitation was not Sapphic at all, but a stanza comprising three lines of a rhythmical trochaic trimeter with an added five-syllable refrain at the end.[37] Viewed, however, from an eleventh-century perspective, these objections can be qualified and in this respect the penitential song, *Quis infelici* by Peter Damian (1007–72), is particularly revelatory; so much so, that Stotz's characterisation of *Gloriam deo* as 'pseudo-Sapphic' in form acquires new resonance.

Quis infelici can be found among a notated collection of Peter Damian's works compiled at the end of the eleventh century in the Italian peninsula.[38] The collection also includes half a dozen liturgical hymns in Sapphic verse form, the majority of which are for specific saints. The chant in question, however, bears the rubric 'rithmus penitentis monachi'—a song of a 'penitent monk'—which underlines Stotz's understanding of the composition as a journey into the inner workings of the soul of an individual who had professed his monastic vows; the acknowledged wretchedness, the ineluctable demise, the doubting despair. The text takes as its inspiration, in both literal content at the opening and general form, a passage from

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[37] Norberg, *An Introduction*.

[38] For a description of the manuscript and a list of rubrics, see André Wilmart, 'Le recueil des poèmes et des prières de Saint Pierre Damien', *Revue Bénédictine*, 41 (1929), 342–70. The song is described, with a list of editions of both music and text, in Stotz, *Sonderformen*, pp. 371–74.

Jeremiah.[39] Indeed, as Stotz notes, medieval writers saw a connection between the proportions of certain lamentatory sections of this biblical book and the Sapphic verse form: Isidore of Seville remarks that they were 'written as if in Sapphic metre'.[40] In this way, there would appear to be a direct correlation between the jeremiad content of *Quis infelici* and its verse form, and this naturally raises the question concerning the articulative potency of its accompanying melodic formulation. From even a cursory inspection of the melody of *Quis infelici* it can be surmized that the musical delivery fundamentally underscored this connection between literary content and verse form since the melody concerned is a lightly modified version of a Sapphic hymn melody, and not simply any such melody, but the most preferred melody employed for liturgical hymns in Sapphic form.[41]

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[39] Cf. Jeremiah 9. 1.

[40] Stotz, *Sonderformen*, p. 439, referring to Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, VI. 2. 23 (PL 82, col. 232B), '-quasi Sapphico metro scripta sunt'.-

[41] The following example reproduces a formulation of the Sapphic hymn melody 232 transmitted in the eleventh-century north Italian manuscript Vro102 as transcribed in *Monumenta monodica medii aevi* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956–), I: *Hymnen (I). Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, ed. with commentary by Bruno Stäblein (1956), p. 391. The melodic formulation of *Quis infelici* is also taken from this edition (p. 465), Stäblein not remarking on the correspondence between the two melodies. For a reference to the widespread dissemination of this Sapphic hymn melody, see Björkvall and Haug, 'Text und Musik', p. 11. Whilst acknowledging that the possible age of individual hymn melodies may be difficult to discern, David Hiley in his analysis of this melody writes that 'it has a relatively modern air, partly because of the clear tonality', see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 144. As will be demonstrated later, the melody of this Sapphic hymn might reach back to at least the beginning of the tenth century.

Example 3: *Quis infelici*, Vat3797, and *Laus trinitati*, Vro102 (eleventh century).

The melodic modification arose out of the need to accommodate a supplementary syllable in the second half of each line. Moreover, this melodic re-fashioning does not appear to have transpired randomly: the first significant deviation from the standard Sapphic hymn melody occurs at *capiti* where two-note neume groups suddenly replace the previously syllabic delivery. This is also the precise moment after which the two verse forms part company: the standard Sapphic form ending the line with an emphasis on the penultimate syllable, and *Quis infelici* continuing with the extra syllable but preferring accentual stress on the now antepenultimate syllable. This pattern—melodic and rhythmic—is then repeated for the second line of both

compositions. Thus the rhythmical emphasis at the ends of lines in the two texts coincide, the Sapphic verse form of the Peter Damian song becoming 'pseudo' in the recontextualization of that emphasis as part of a three-syllable proparoxytone accent. This pattern still holds for the third line of *Quis infelici* even though the melodic accommodation of the extra syllable occurs at a different structural position. Instead of a melodic embellishment on the syllable third from last in the line, an extra note comes to the fore four syllables from the end, thereby abruptly reversing the descending melodic motion found at the corresponding point in the standard Sapphic hymn. A possible explanation for this could lie in the desire to build up tension structurally before the release of the final half-line adonic. To be more precise: the first two lines of text bear the same melody giving a structure AA; these then give way to the third line whose oscillation between the melodic third *G–b* gives the impression of an internal repetition within the line itself, hence bb (where small letters indicate the half-line in contrast to the capitals for full lines). In other words, the speed of formal repetition within the pseudo-Sapphic structure doubles. This effect is literally heightened by the exploitation of a higher, climactic tessitura in the third line. The tension grows in the syllabic delivery of the second half of the third line until the very last syllable—set to four pitches—which leads directly into a four-note stepwise descent at the beginning of the last line at the woeful exclamation 'vae'. Thus the supplementary note in line three at *ob*(*ducite*) could even be considered as wrenching the tension higher by spinning out the *G–b* oscillation.

The melodic structure [AAbbc] of *Quis infelici* felicitously reflects the semantic and syntactic poise of the first stanza of the song. At first, the melodic formulation reads the text in equivalent line-units which adequately support the two parallel interrogative statements beginning with 'quis'. The oscillations of the third line highlight its more disjunct semantic message before the onset of the bathetic interjection and identification of the lyrical first—and fallen—person at 'vae mihi lapso'. The melodic realization in *Quis infelici* of the pseudo-Sapphic verse form both at a structural and superficial level would therefore seem to be especially successful.

Evidence suggests that this success was contingent upon an aspect of cultural exchange. In his discussion of the Peter Damian composition, Stotz draws a comparison with an earlier pseudo-Sapphic composition which employs an identical verse form. *Ad caeli clara* is similarly the song of a penitent, albeit in a more expansive frame of mind: it also makes use of some of the same textual imagery present in *Quis infelici*.[42] Stotz guards against positing a direct relationship between the two compositions, but an examination of one of the two distinct melodies transmitted for the song, both in the tenth century, sheds a different light on the matter. Moreover, the song *Ad caeli clara* has been attributed to Paulinus of Aquileia.[43]

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[42] *Ad caeli clara* is presented and discussed in Stotz, *Sonderformen*, pp. 356–59.

[43] For information concerning the role of imitation in the composition of *Ad caeli clara* and

Example 4: *Quis infelici* and *Laus trinitati* as in previous example, with neumatic notation for *Ad caeli clara*, from Be455 (ninth/tenth century).

its authorship, see Norberg, *L'oeuvre poétique*, pp. 51–59; critical edition, pp. 126–30.

The neumatic notation in the example above comes from Be455, a manuscript possibly copied in the Paris region at the end of the ninth century but which found its way to Laon in the first third of the tenth century.[44] The melodic formulation is, at first glance, far more syllabic than the melody of the Peter Damian song. This throws the opening three-note group of *Ad caeli clara* into greater relief. However, it soon appears as if the same basic melody—that is, an identity stretching beyond the deployment of an identical pattern of structural repetitions within the song, but falling short of a precise overlap in the details of the melodic surface—lies behind the formulation of both compositions. Thus the descending and ascending two-note figures on the third and fourth syllables respectively of *Ad caeli clara* may effectively cancel each other out within the melodic progression represented by the two single note neumes at the corresponding position in *Quis infelici*. In two respects, the melody of *Ad caeli clara* more closely follows the contours of the standard Sapphic hymn: both in the syllabic delivery of the second halves of the first two lines, and in the melodic elaboration at the beginning of the third. But perhaps the most significant correspondence between the formulations of the Paulinus and Peter Damian songs occurs in the second half of the third line: the melodic oscillation in the latter needed to fill out the seven-syllable half-line is indeed found—in the more explicit form of a rising two-note neume—on the second and fourth syllables of this segment of *Ad caeli clara*. Thus there exists the very real possibility that Peter Damian based his song *Quis infelici* on a performed version of Paulinus's *Ad caeli clara*. If this were indeed the case, it would add a deeper historical dimension to the musical transmission of Sapphic verse forms. Of relevance for this study would be the melodic malleability of liturgical hymns in a standard Sapphic verse form for pseudo-Sapphic ends; and the intimate association of the pseudo-Sapphic verse form with sobering, penitential texts.

The Hymnic Celebration: 'Gloriam deo'

Unlike the antiphon and pedagogical exercise, but more like the penitential song, the redaction of *Gloriam deo* in RoA123 is a stanzaic composition. Its melodic formulation bears the weight of an imposing abundance of stanzas. Moreover, the composition is structured melodically in a manner quite unlike any other chant encountered thus far. No melodic correspondences among the Sapphic hymn repertory have to date been discerned, and Jacques Chailley notes that the structure itself is 'assez inusuel'.[45]

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[44] Evidence for the date and provenance of this manuscript is briefly adumbrated in Barrett, 'The Rhythmical Songs' (forthcoming).

[45] Jacques Chailley, *L'École musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris: Les Livres Essentiels, 1960), pp. 140–41.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |

Pa1154

RoA123

Glo- ri- am de- o in ex- cel- sis ho- di- e

Pa1154

RoA123

ce- les- tis pri- mum ce- ci- nit ex- er- ci- tus

Pa1154

RoA123

pax an- ge- lo- rum et in ter- ra vo- ci- bus

Pa1154

RoA123

ve- ra de- scen- dit

Example 5: *Gloriam Deo*, Pa1154 (tenth century; top) and RoA123 (*c.* 1036; bottom).

The key to unlocking the pseudo-Sapphic verse form of *Gloriam Deo* is the pattern of internal melodic repetitions it displays, or even advertises. These identify a structure—as far as can be surmised from an adiastematic neume script—which clearly recognized the half-line as a constituent element of the overall form. Thus the second halves of lines one and two reveal a neumation which for all but one of the

pitch-groups is identical; yet even this exception falls away in the exactitude of repetition between the first halves of lines two and three. If, consequently, each half-line of the redaction of *Gloriam Deo* in RoA123 were deservedly given an individual marking, the structure could be conceived as [abcbcde]. This appears far more complex than the [AAbbc] structure proposed for *Quis infelici* which opens with main articulations at the end of the first two lines. However, if the first and last two half-lines of *Gloriam Deo* are separated off from the other internal *membra*, the following pattern occurs: [a|bcbc|de], in other words a melodic repetition which arches through the middle of the twelve-syllable lines of this pseudo-Sapphic verse form. In the antiphon *Gloria laudis resonet* it was seen how melodic repetition dissected the verse form for the sake of semantic clarity and theological formulaicism. Such a device in *Gloriam Deo* may have had the intention of splicing the listener's attention to form, allowing, thereby, for a shimmering perception of the ever-changing permutations in the length of sense-units from stanza to stanza.

However, the musical realization of verse form of the Paulinus *versus* in RoA123 amounted to more than a selective repetition of half-lines. Considerable importance seems to have been attached to the melodic shaping of gestures directly before the caesurae: the articulative weight thereby not only centering on the 'head' (*caput*) of individual *membra* as in *Ut queant laxis*, but being thrown forward towards their closure. Although the pitches of these gestures cannot be reconstituted with certainty, the double scrolling motion of the neumatic notation before the caesura of the first three lines suggests a similar melodic conception. Moreover, a similar gesture, albeit in singular form this time, is found at the very end of the stanza. On closer inspection, the entire neumation of the very last *membrum* strikingly resembles that of the first and this reveals another possible compositional conceit. As in *Ut queant laxis* (and to a lesser extent *Quis infelici*), there appears to be a crescendo in form in the course of the third line of *Gloriam Deo*: this is marked both by the more melismatic opening of the penultimate half-line and by its ending on a high pitch whereas all previous line endings descended. If this is the case, the repetition of the melodic contour from the opening *membrum* at the end of the stanza might represent a lessening of tension through recognition.

Thus the pseudo-Sapphic verse form of *Gloriam Deo* is articulated in the redaction of RoA123 in four particularly distinctive ways: the pattern of internal melodic repetitions recognizes the half-lines as a potential building-block of form; this is bolstered by the extreme attention paid to the melodic moulding of the closing gestures before caesurae; the processual quality of the melody unfolding through time is emphasized through the heightening of tension in the third line of text; and the compositional dilemma concerning the asymmetrical nature of the shorter fourth line—the *comma heroicum*—is solved by creating a gestural balance with the melody of the first *membrum*. To maintain that the redaction of *Gloriam Deo* in RoA123 amounted to an apotheosis of a pseduo-Sapphic verse form would surely be an ungainly over-exaggeration. Nevertheless, a comparison of the melodic formulation in RoA123 with that described in the neumation of the earlier, tenth-

century Aquitanian manuscript, Pa1154, suggests certain differences with respect to the weight accorded specific aspects of the verse form. The melodic contours of both redactions would appear broadly to agree: Pa1154 thus also deploys the [abcbcde] pattern of internal melodic repetitions and its melody seems to rise towards the end of the third line. Yet there is less melodic elaboration in Pa1154 before the caesura and the very last half-line does not, in contrast to RoA123, seem to refer back melodically to the opening *membrum*. The possibility, therefore, remains that these differences in melodic formulation set the individual initiative of the notator of RoA123 into relief—differences which expressly highlight and project the compositional potential inherent within the pseudo-Sapphic verse form. But what was the possible motivation behind advertising the pseudo-Sapphic nature of the text in this way? In order to approach an answer to this conundrum, it is necessary to examine the ritual use of *Gloriam Deo* as set out in RoA123.

Of all the extant redactions of Paulinus's *Gloriam Deo*, only RoA123 describes a spatial locus for performance as opposed to a merely temporal one. The text is obviously designed for the Christmas season—'on the Nativity of the Lord' (*in natale domini*) reads the rubric in RoA123—but its performance in Bologna was 'before the bishop' (*ante episcopum*). This gives the impression of a static rather than processional presentation of the *versus*, especially since RoA123 contains a short, self-contained section of chants conceived for liturgical processions, and designated explicitly as such.[46] The static, stanzaic unfolding of *Gloriam Deo* before the opening mass of Christmas Day itself was performance writ large and RoA123 gives no indication that this was to proceed in a representational manner.

What follows must remain conjectural, but there are reasons to suggest that *Gloriam Deo* was uniquely suited to stationary performance, for the prinicipal progression that arose thereby was of a thematic and formal order, both articulated by the musical formulation. As stated above, the literary form of *Gloriam Deo* is essentially narrative; it closely follows the Lucan account of the birth of Christ, the appearance of the angel to the shepherds and the adoration of the Magi. The last section, comprising the last seven or so stanzas before the doxology, recounts Herod's executive decision to slaughter the new-born in Bethlehem. The change in language at this juncture is dramatic as the opening of stanza 37 indicates: 'How sad —alas!—is the voice that resonates in the heavens | There is much weeping and great wailing'.[47] Despairing exclamations and embittered questions now pepper the text; rhetorical devices which steer its contents away from the purely narrative towards

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[46] Baroffio notes that the range of chants employed in RoA123 before the Introit may reflect not only the different musical traditions on which the compilers of the manuscript drew, but also the ceremonial events—such as the reception of a bishop—which they accompanied, see Baroffio, 'Antifone e versus pre-introitali' (in print).

[47] Norberg, *L'oeuvre poétique*, p. 136, stanza 37, 'Vox in excelsis, heu, quam tristis resonat, | ploratus multus, ululatus maximus'.

the affective. Of course, such sentiments—even such vocabulary—are part and parcel of liturgical texts for the feast of the Holy Innocents.[48] But none of these texts employs a pseudo-Sapphic verse form.

The last narrative event in *Gloriam Deo* turns, therefore, into a lament. Moreover, the transmission patterns of the two penitential songs *Ad caeli clara* and *Quis infelici* have suggested a close affinity between the pseudo-Sapphic verse form and a plaintive mode of expression. This raises the intriguing possibility that the lamentatory quality of the pseudo-Sapphic only came into its own at the very end of the performance of *Gloriam Deo*. Thus the performative progression of the *versus* is not only narrative or thematic, but most significantly formal. This was arguably achieved by the deliberate tightening of specific aspects of the pseudo-Sapphic verse form in the melodic formulation of RoA123, a formulation realized in full ritual pomp before the highest ecclesiastical authority in the cathedral.

Other possible ritual explanations for the especially marked projection of the pseudo-Sapphic verse form of the Paulinus *versus* in RoA123 are scarce. One does at least partially emerge from medieval writings and it, too, relates to a spatial presentation of *Gloriam Deo*. The particular codicological construction of RoA123 affords the possibility of cross-referencing performance rubrics in more than one section of the book. Thus *Gloriam Deo* appears in fascicles containing tropes and sequences, but the Proper chants for Christmas appear earlier in a Gradual section. Whilst the rubric for *Gloriam Deo* only specifies genre, liturgical occasion and position before the bishop, the Proper chants for the third Christmas mass in the Gradual section are prefaced with the rubric, 'On the day of the Nativity of the Lord. Station at St Peter's'. Turning back to the rubrics of the two previous Christmas masses, further stations can be found. These refer to co-ordinates in the papal stational liturgy at Rome and were adopted into the earliest Carolingian Graduals as part of the reception of Roman chant over the Alps in the eighth and ninth centuries. Their presence in RoA123 was probably the result of the re-importation of Roman-Frankish chant into the Italian peninsula.

Delimiting a plausible provenance for RoA123 has previously proved to be a 'torturous' affair for scholarship.[49] However, the mention of the bishop and the sketching in of a stational liturgy firmly suggest that the manuscript was copied for use in a cathedral establishment, and that this establishment would have necessarily been located in the vicinity of dependent churches for the stational liturgy to have been effected. Alongside information gleaned from the sanctorale, the cathedral of

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[48] See, for example, the usage of the Old Testament account of Rachel mourning her children in Jeremiah 31. 15 in *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, III, nos 1822 and 5508.

[49] This description hails from Giampaolo Ropa who writes of 'un lungo e tortuoso dibattito attributivo', see Giampaolo Ropa, 'Il culto della Vergine a Bologna a Medioevo', in *Codex Angelicus 123*, ed. by Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani and Giampaolo Ropa (Cremona: Una Cosa Rara, 1996), pp. 3–31 (p. 10). Ropa, however, lays out the reasons why the manuscript was definitively compiled for the cathedral at Bologna.

Bologna fits these two requirements. If the bishop carried out the stational liturgy in Bologna at Christmas, it would have been an act that emulated papal authority in Rome and reconstructed a spiritual topography of the holy city. There is no direct evidence to suggest that *Gloriam Deo* played a part in accompanying these perambulations between sites. But for those that participated in the episcopal processions at Christmas, Rome was present. Bethlehem was, too—especially for the text scribe of RoA123 who repeatedly entered that city's name into the text of *Gloriam Deo*. But just as the stream of neumes in RoA123 runs dry, a new investigative thread can be taken up.

In a letter to Paulinus of Nola, Jerome describes the state of the principal Christian sites of veneration in the Holy Land. Concerning Bethlehem he writes:

> Even my own Bethlehem now, that most august place in the whole world of which the psalmist sings: 'the truth hath sprung out of the earth,' was overshadowed by a grove of Thamuz, that is of Adonis; and in the cave where the infant Christ once cried, the lover of Venus is lamented.[50]

Of relevance in this passage is not so much the topos of the followers of Adonis ritualistically bewailing his passing, but rather the two parallels that Jerome draws. The first is performative and concerns the wailing sounds of those worshipping Adonis and the cries of the infant Christ. The second is spatial and locates the site of this worship on the very spot where Christ had been born. If traces of these associations rippled through the Middle Ages, then the choice of a pseudo-Sapphic verse form—with its lamentatory connotations—for the very public performance of a Christmas text would take on new meaning. Through a process of ritualization in the performance of *Gloriam Deo* before the bishop, Bethlehem—as the very locus of Christ's birth—would not have been only evoked, but reconquered as a site of Christian worship, rendering the cathedral at Bologna in the words of Jerome, 'that most august place in the whole world'.

These two explanations for the particularly distinctive projection of the pseudo-Sapphic verse form in the redaction of *Gloriam Deo* in RoA123 are, admittedly, highly speculative. They have been offered, however, as an attempt to demonstrate ways in which poetical verse form might be contextualized; and contextualized not in a medieval pedagogical situation, but in ritualized action. In articulating this verse form, music could therefore be understood as also articulating the context. In this respect, an investigation of the simple contiguity between a Paulinus of Aquileia *versus* and eleventh-century Italy has been particularly instructive.

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[50] Jerome, *Epistola LVIII ad Paulinum*, in PL 22, col. 580, 'Bethleem nunc nostram, et augustissimum orbis locum de quo Psalmista canit: Veritas de terra orta est [Psalm 84. 12], lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, id est, Adonidis: et in specu, ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris amasius plangebatur.'

Appendix I

Concordances of 'Gloriam Deo'

Brux 8860–67	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, mss. 8860–67	s. IX	northeast Francia
Pa1154	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1154	s. X	Aquitaine
RoA123	Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 123	c. 1036	Bologna
Vro88	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 88	s. X in	Saint-Denis
Vro90	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 90	s. X in	Verona

Other manuscripts

Be455	Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 455	s.IX ex s. X in	Paris region → Laon
Mü 14965a	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14965a	s. XI	German
Pia65	Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 65	1142	Piacenza
Vro98	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 98	s. XI	Verona
Vro102	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 102	s.XI ex	Verona

Palestrina and Aristotle:
Form in Renaissance Music

EYOLF ØSTREM

In this article I raise questions concerning principles for compositional structuring in Palestrina's sacred polyphony. Through the interpretation of a Palestrina motet, a consciousness on the part of Palestrina of certain principles for planning the musical course of events will be suggested, which are in agreement with a fundamental structural idea in Aristotle's *Poetics*, a point of view also cited by some theoreticians contemporary with Palestrina.

As central as questions of form have been for theoretical considerations about music from the past two–three centuries, just as problematic they have been concerning earlier repertories. Since the insistence on form as a central aesthetical category mainly originates in the codification of the classic-romantic music in the early nineteenth century, the application of the traditional musicological tools for formal analysis of other repertories will always run the risk of being anachronistic and inappropriate, for at least two reasons. First, since these very tools were developed for a particular repertory and shaped thereafter, the questions that are implied in the use of the tools may not be relevant for other musics; form is not an objective concept which springs naturally out of the materiality of a piece of music, but is already deeply rooted in and dependent upon theoretical considerations. Second, since the theoretical sources of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are conspicuously silent about questions of form in the polyphonic genres, at least in any explicit manner, any discussion of these matters today will inevitably have to be based on analysis of the music itself and inferences from the textual sources—to a much larger extent than for later periods, where music and theory can be checked against each other. This is not to say that the existence of explicit, contemporary theoretical sources guarantees correct answers, but they may at least be a guide to shape questions that, through proximity to the music and centrality to the ensuing

analytical tradition, more easily can bear claims to relevance for the analysis and the understanding of the music.

Consequently, questions of form have played a relatively minor role in modern scholarship in Renaissance music.[1] But this does not mean that such questions must be irrelevant on the whole. At least it should be possible to ask questions like: did Palestrina base his writing on any formal principles, beyond the lining up of one point of imitation after the other, until the whole chosen text was used up? The methodological problem concerning this kind of question is how—if at all—we can claim to know anything about such matters. A related question concerns on which level of analysis we choose to pose these questions. Palestrina's individual strategies, whether of a structural or an 'aesthetical' character, may be interesting, but they may not be reachable. The main premise behind this article is that such questions can, and must, be approached through a mediation between the individual and the general, with one eye (or ear) on the sounding music and stylistic aspects therein, and the other on a more general background of the music—ideological, social, and theoretical. I will in the following combine a close reading of a piece of music with a discussion of certain theoretical developments in the sixteenth century which may prove to be of relevance for the question of form in Renaissance music.

It should be pointed out already from the outset, that my focus is not primarily on Palestrina himself, but on a possible interpretational background in approaching his music. Also, when I contrast Palestrina with music from the generations before him, this should not be taken as a statement to the effect that music before Palestrina lacked an 'inherent form' where Palestrina's music has one—the aim is not to push back the starting point for form in music from, say 1750 to, say, 1550, but rather to say that concerns about form may indeed be discernible in several different styles and periods in the past, and possibly even before Palestrina, even where they have not usually been looked for or considered relevant.

The scenario that will be presented in the following can be described as the development where externally structuring principles—such as formal patterns borrowed from the lyrical genres, or, more generally, derived from a specific function—are replaced by principles based more exclusively in compositional decisions, especially those directly connected with musical time and harmonical tension. Phrased differently: the development where harmony goes from being a primarily synchronous element of music to becoming an important element also in the diachronous organization of the music: its form.[2]

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[1] The exception is the study of 'cantus firmus' techniques (including the isorhythmic motet), which, however, represents a different approach to form than the one I pursue in this article. See also the examples that Nils Holger Petersen gives in his article in this volume.

[2] See Andreas Haug's contribution to this volume for a similar distinction between functionality and artifice.

'Osculetur me'

I would like to illustrate this change through an analysis of a motet by Palestrina, which construes the composition as a planned progression through a series of specific goals (such as cadential degrees), achieved by harmonic means (progressions by fifths, cadential progressions, various sixth chords, the hierarchy of cadential levels), independently of the text. These features are demonstrated through a fairly detailed analysis of the motet. Then the results of the analysis are related to a wider range of texts. This motet provides an apt example for assessing the interaction between concrete music, theoretical developments, and practical circumstances.

'Osculetur me' is the first motet in Palestrina's famous fourth book of motets, with texts from the Song of Songs, published in Rome in 1584.[3] The text of the motet is taken from the Song of Songs 1. 2–3, and consists of five lines:

Osculetur me osculo oris sui,	Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth:
quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino,	for thy love is better than wine.
fragrantia unguentis optimis,	Because of the savour of thy good ointments,
oleum effusum nomen tuum,	thy name is as ointment poured forth,
ideo adolescentulae dilexerunt te.	therefore do the virgins love thee.

Each new line of text corresponds to a new point of imitation, and is singled out through shifts in texture and through major cadences. The motet thus consists of five more or less clearly separated sections. I will go through the motet, section by section, summarizing the evidence in the end.

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[3] In the introduction to the collection, Palestrina says that, owing to the character of the texts, he has 'chosen a more joyful tone than he used to apply for the other sacred songs'. This seems mainly to refer to the freer use of short note values, whereas the harmonic aspects that I point to in this article, seem also to be found in other motets and mass movements. A firmer conclusion in this respect would require a more thorough comparative analysis than I have undertaken so far.

Example 1. Palestrina: 'Osculetur me', mm. 1–20.

The first section (mm. 1–20; Example 1) consists of three 'waves' of imitations, which almost monotonously establish the *finalis*, g (the motet is written in the first mode, based on g). The first wave (mm. 1–7) begins in the commonest possible way, with two imitating voices a fifth and a semibrevis apart. When the initial pair of imitation comes to its first cadence, the third part enters in m. 5 on the V step (*d'*),[4] as the fundamental note of a suspension. This signals one of the more frequent ways of switching from one pair of voices to another. The regular form of this type of entry can be observed in 'Dies sanctificatus' (Example 2), where the tenor enters on V, at the suspension stage of the cadence, and the bass on I, at the resolution. Thus, the fifth scale degree is used as an ending signal and a beginning at the same time.

There are two major differences between the beginning of 'Dies sanctificatus' and of 'Osculetur me' in this respect. In the former, the *cantus* enters first on the V step, answered by *altus* on I. In 'Osculetur me' the order of entries in the initial imitation is the opposite (I, then V), and a reversal of this pattern for the next pair of imitations would be, if not impossible, then at least unusual in the general idiom of the period. The other difference is melodic: the head motif of 'Dies sanctificatus' as it is used in the motet is designed for the next entry a fifth below, whereas 'Osculetur me' begins with an interval which would preclude such an entry if the upper part enters first, since this would produce the dissonant interval of a seventh.

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[4] I use Roman numerals as a convenient shorthand to denote triads (harmonically legitimate clusters of tones belonging to three different scale degrees), with the number denoting degrees relative to the *finalis*, but without using the theoretical apparatus of the scale step theory or any other theoretical construct that may have been associated with this system. The main difference from these systems is that I treat both the fifth and the sixth as legitimate occupants of the third position in the triad, i.e. considering both *e–g–b* and *e–g–c'* as triads on *e*, as opposed to the principle of chord inversions, which would regard *e–g–c'* as a first inversion C major chord.

Example 2. Palestrina: 'Dies sanctificatus', beginning.

Thus, even though the way the *quintus* enters in 'Osculetur me' to most listeners would have brought to mind the pattern found in 'Dies sanctificatus' and the like, it is evident that *quintus* is not presenting a new pair of voices, but rather performing its role as 'the fifth wheel on the cart' as the Germanic saying goes—it is the part which is *not* engaged in any imitative pair. The next three measures (mm. 5–7) function as a prolongation of the V step, and not until the melody of the *quintus* has returned to *d'* (m. 7), does the *bassus* enter, on the tonic, thereby completing the invitation to a cadence which was left hanging in the air until this point.

Only now comes the second pair of imitation—*bassus* and *tenor*—echoing the introductory duet of *cantus* and *altus*. Even this time the cadential progression is prolonged, now with a 'real' cadence (mm. 11–12). There is, however, a significant difference from the pattern that at the time would have been recognized and expected as the standard version of the syncopated cadence, as described by theorists such as Gioseffo Zarlino and Guilielmus Monachus (see Example 3). The syncopated figure (labelled *clausula cantizans* by Bernhard Meyer) would be associated with the *cantus*, while the bass would perform the leap from V to I. In Palestrina's cadence,

however, the *clausula cantizans* is instead sung by the *bassus*. This configuration of the cadential scheme would have been considered less definitive than the cadence with the normal distribution of the parts, and thus gives the opportunity for the extension that follows: in a higher register and a thinner texture a 'detour' *E flat–d* is inserted, before the cadence and the second wave is concluded in mm. 13–14.

Example 3. Standard distribution of clausulae in the syncopated cadence.

The third wave (mm. 14–20) begins like the second, with an imitation between bassus and tenor, but continues with more freely written five part counterpoint. The wave, as well as the entire section, ends with a distinct, emphasized and unmistakable G–C–D–G-cadence (mm. 18–20)—in other words, the sounding, if not functional, equivalent to the T–S–D–T-cadence of functional harmony.

I have discussed these measures in some detail because they illustrate an important point: all three cadences are, in one way or another, prolonged, compared to what would have been recognized by the competent listener as their regular form. The effect of the prolongation is different from one cadence to the next. In the first (mm. 5–7) the resolution is postponed, in the second (mm. 12–14) new material is inserted, and in the third there is a reinforcement of the cadence (mm. 18–20). In all cases it seems as if Palestrina is playing with various possibilities to create expectations and tension in cadential patterns, covering several measures, and going far beyond the elements of the suspension cadence itself. He makes conscious and goal-oriented use of means which are not determined by compositional conventions alone.

Example 4. 'Osculetur me', mm. 20–31.

The second section (mm. 20–31, Example 4) begins homophonically, in sharp contrast with the preceding section, but eventually glides into a more imitative texture. In mm. 24–25 a cadence to *d* is prepared, with a distinct, pseudo-chromatic and syncopated figure in the *cantus* (*e flat''–d''–c#''–d''*). This is however deflected by the *b flat* in the bass, and when the *d*-chord finally enters, in m. 26, the three upper parts are already engaged in a repetition of the motive starting m. 20. Not until mm. 30–31 is there a clear cadence (*Bb–a–D*), and again it is as if what was started but aborted five measures earlier now gets its delayed resolution. Or stated the other way: the final cadence seems prepared by the preceding passage.

Example 5. 'Osculetur me', mm. 31–36.

In this cadence to *D* an *f#* is introduced. This is used as the starting point for an almost exaggeratedly obvious stroll along the circle of fifths, all the way back from the 'durus'- to the 'mollis'-side, in homorhythmical writing and—apart from the faster harmonic rhythm in the final cadence—with one chord per measure: *D–G–C–F–Bb–F–Bb* (mm. 31–36, Example 5).

Example 6. 'Osculetur me', mm. 36–45.

Then follows the most complex part of the motet (mm. 36–45, Example 6), both harmonically and contrapuntally. Two syncopated motifs, recurring in all parts at the words 'oleum' and 'nomen', build a chain of overlapping syncopated figures, suggesting cadences, but never really coming to rest on any tone, since the tonal direction is constantly changed by the next syncope and by sixths instead of fifths above the bass tone (as opposed to the 'deceptive cadence', of m. 25). Throughout this harmonically blurred section, however, a closer look will reveal a long chain of fifths, from *Bb* to *A* and back to *F*: *Bb–F–C–g–d–A–d–g–C(a)–F*. The conclusion of the section is ambiguous. The measures 42–44 seem to lead up to an emphasized cadence on C in m. 45, but instead the outer parts vanish and the tenor enters on the *a* below the *c'* of the *quintus*, thus 'puncturing' the entire passage: what could have become a grand conclusion is left hanging in the air.

Example 7. 'Osculetur me', mm. 45–end.

Immediately after this the *bassus* enters on *f* and sets off the concluding section of the motet. The first phrase (mm. 45–50) seems to be leading towards a cadence on *d*, well prepared through m. 49, but once again this is postponed for two measures by the *b flat* in the *bassus*; the regular cadence gesture comes in m. 52, with a rising fourth in the bass and an unsyncopated semitone figure in the *cantus*. When another group of voices present a repetition of this passage (albeit not in exact detail) in mm. 53–54, the bass again goes to *b flat*, this time directly under the *clausula cantizans*— now in syncopated form—in the quintus. When this figure on *d* in turn is echoed by the *tenor* in mm. 54–55 (with *c* instead of *c#*), it is accompanied by an *E flat*-chord. The same figure thus occurs three times, each time in harmonic surroundings lying further to the *molle*-side (mm. 52, 53–54, and 54–55). The last of these is at the same time the beginning of the end, which can be regarded as an extended version of the cadential fragment of the introduction (*Eb–d–g* in mm. 12–14), only this time it is prolongated even further by an inserted progression outlining an ascent *Bb–c–d* over five measures, followed by the extended last elaboration of the *finalis g*. Throughout the last section, including the last measures leading up to the final cadence, the *Eb* sonority is predominant, whereas the rest of the motet has been marked by motion in the *durus* direction.

Schematized Chord Progressions

Even though one does not commonly assume a chord concept equivalent to that of harmonic tonality in this period, there are still a few types of schematic chord progressions that, in one way or another, go beyond the conception of the separate linearity of each individual part, and instead presuppose a conception of several simultaneously sounding tones as a *chord* and not only simultaneous intervals.[5]

One can point to several of these loose chord progressions in general use in sixteenth-century music, such as the fauxbourdon style, the romanesca bass type, etc. Palestrina instead favours movements along the circle of fifths. The way in which these are used differs from the mentioned fixed chord progressions in several ways. They are not associated with one particular part, as a cantus firmus, strictly spoken

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[5] The seminal work is Carl Dahlhaus's *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung der harmonischen Tonalität*, Saarbrücker Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968). Dahlhaus lists several criteria throughout his study, such as chord inversions and the notion of a fundamental bass (as opposed to the actual sounding bass); the distinction between *Akkordsatz* where only combinations of three or more tones that are conceived as a unit count as chords, and *Intervallsatz*, where two-tone units (intervals) are the basic unit and combinations of more tones are considered not as chords but as clusters of intervals (p. 57– 58); further its inclusion in a theory of tonality, where 'Das Akkordsystem einer Tonart [...] in Haupt- und Nebenstufen gegliedert [ist]' (p. 101); and an essential rather than an accidental relationship between tonality and scale (p. 142). See also note 4 above.

not even with a particular note (although the bass has a certain priority). Neither are they used in note-against-note writing, but each step in the circle movement normally lasts for one brevis, which is in turn to say that behind the part-writing lies an imaginary harmonic framework. This implies a chord concept which comes closer to meeting the requirements for harmonic tonality, following Dahlhaus's stricter definition. It is here apparent that connections between chords at the distance of a fifth are used not only as accidental results of the counterpoint. They could be called 'dominant relations', with the slight qualification that whereas modern theory only allows for motion from dominant to tonic, Palestrina moves freely in either direction. What they do have in common is the overall principle of creating some kind of tonal directedness, working over several measures, by means of underlying harmonic structures not explicitly visible in the score.

Cadential formulae

Cadential progressions are the most clearly defined among the schematic chord progressions, both regarding their theoretical definition and their practical use. In a cadential progression, the individuality of the individual part is temporarily subordinated to the effect of the progression as a whole.

In the regular syncopated cadence, the strong correspondence between the cadential function and the syncopated figure of the *clausula cantizans* entails an ambiguity: the *clausula cantizans* can occur where the counterpoint as a whole does not suggest a point of cadence, while at the same time the very presence of the *clausula* creates associations with the cadence figure and colours the experience of the music by two of the main properties or functions of the cadence: a formalized creation of tension, and the expectation of a resolution and a conclusion. When this fails to happen, it only serves to sustain the tension for a longer stretch of time. This is the harmonic 'motor' through the complex passage at 'oleum effusum nomen tuum' (mm. 36–46).

There are cases where this aspect of the standard suspension cadence is pushed even further, when several of these syncopated *clausula*-figures are chained together, but without reaching a firm cadence until the end of a longer passage—what one might metaphorically call 'cascade cadences'. The effect in this case is created when a stereotyped movement towards a specific tonal goal is interrupted and instead leads in a different direction, either because other voices take over as the dominant parts, or because the voices involved go to other tones than the expected. This presupposes the existence of these stereotyped figures—as well as the experience of them as such—as a means to create expectations about the tonal direction, and when Palestrina uses this in a play of tension and expectation, it indicates a highly developed harmonic thinking. The effect of the 'cadence' is here detached from its original function as a conclusion of a textual-melodic phrase.

'Large scale form'

Some of the characteristics span the composition as a whole, and can thus be used to give a picture of the overall structure of the motet (see Table 1).

Section	I	II	III	IV	V
Measures	1–20	20–31	31–36	36–45	45–63
No. of measures	20	11	6	11	19
Texture	P	H→P	H	P	H/P
Final cadence	G	d/D	Bb	?	g/G

Table 1. Structural overview of 'Osculetur me' (H = homophonic texture, P = polyphonic texture)

First we may note that the disposition of cadences follows the recommendations of the theoreticians of the sixteenth century, who (with minor differences in details) recommended the first, the fifth, and the third degrees, in descending order, as the proper places for cadences. Palestrina lets the first and last sections end on a principal cadence, the second and third on the fifth and third degrees respectively. The fourth section is ambiguous.

Also striking is the symmetrical construction of the motet. The first and last sections are long, mainly polyphonic (i.e. with an emphasis on the individuality of each part) and tonally stable elaborations of the main motivic material in the respective sections, which in both cases consists of a falling melody after an introductory upward leap of a third or fourth. The middle section is a short and emphasizedly homophonic, pompous stroll along the circle of fifths. Flanking this middle section and completing the symmetry are two sections of eleven measures each, both based on syncopated motifs and raising the level of harmonic complexity compared to their preceding and following sections.

To sum up, all the techniques that I have pointed to in Palestrina's motet are harmonic means for creating or maintaining tension over longer stretches. Their character lies either in a reinterpretation of the established function of the various techniques (as in the cadential passages and regarding the sixth), or in functions that are new in relation to earlier music (the 'cascade' cadences, chains of syncopes and circles of fifths). Also on the overall level of the motet as a whole, one can point to a carefully planned structure.

Theory—Vicentino, Gallus, Burmeister, and Aristotle

These changes in compositional practice and technique can be read against the background of changes in aesthetic principles. The problem is how to combine the

two: music theoreticians hardly speak about form at all, their counterpoint treatises have a more practical orientation, concerned with how to move correctly from one chord to the next; and we obviously do not know what Palestrina knew and thought.

The *Poetics* of Aristotle, was virtually unknown throughout the Middle Ages, but when it was rediscovered in the late fifteenth century and disseminated in Latin and Italian translations during the first half of the sixteenth century, it quickly became the single most influential text for the development of Renaissance aesthetics.[6] In Chapter 7, Aristotle describes the principles for a correct construction of a tragedy:

> Tragedy is a representation of an action that is whole and complete and of a certain magnitude [...]. A whole is what has a beginning and middle and end. A beginning is that which is not a necessary consequent of anything else but after which something else exists or happens as a natural result. An end on the contrary is that which is inevitably or, as a rule, the natural result of something else but from which nothing else follows; a middle follows something else and something follows from it.[7]

Aristotle's discussion is not just about a simplistic lining up of sections. His parts are not sections, in the literal sense of units 'cut apart' from each other, but states or stages in a temporal process, with different logical characteristics, so that each part by causal necessity leads into the next or is led to it from the previous. This is a way of looking at narratives with a temporal extension which lies close to the centre of (and is part of the theoretical background of) the organicist idea of unity in later centuries.

If applied to musical works, Aristotle's model gives an aesthetic where the work is regarded as a unified whole, where the different parts by necessity or by probability lead into each other, 'so that like a single organism (*zôion*) it may produce its proper pleasure.'[8] The notion that the different parts of a musical work form this kind of unity together, and as such are of importance to each other, is perhaps the biggest difference between a Dufayian 'moment form', where, if sound-event A is followed by sound-event B, these stand independently from each other, as

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[6] Some of its contents was known earlier, in indirect form through Averroes's *Middle commentary* on the *Poetics*, circulating from the thirteenth century on, and through a partial translation in the early fourteenth century (see Donnalee Dox, 'Logic and Performance: Translating the Poetics into Medieval Scholasticism', in *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*, 17 (2003), 45–70, and Donnalee Dox, *The Idea of the Theatre in Latin Christian Thought: Augustine to the Fourteenth Century*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004). The full text was in circulation in its Greek form since the late fifteenth century, but not until the Latin translation from 1536 and the subsequent Italian translations and commentaries from the years around 1550 was it brought to the centre of aesthetic discussion; see Władysław Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1980), p. 270.

[7] Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. by W. H. Fyfe (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), ch. 7 (1450b).

[8] Aristotle, *Poetics*, ch. 23 (1459a).

'moments' that 'are to be relished rather than eliminated in search of some deeper structure', to quote Rob Wegman (see below), and a model where there is a closer relationship between A and B—A leads up to, prepares, and/or anticipates and creates expectations of B. The composer may then manipulate with these expectations, fulfilling them or delaying their fulfillment; in this play with tension/relaxation and expectation, a longer and harmonically structured musical course of events may be established.

Aristotle's *Poetics* would thus seem to be an important source for the goal-oriented compositional practice in 'Osculetur me'. In general, the use of the *Poetics* in the music theory of the latter half of the sixteenth century is mostly limited to the few remarks in it that more specifically concern music. There are, however, some treatises that utilize Aristotle's ideas and terminology in a way that may even shed light on a motet such as Palestrina's.

The first explicit occurrence of this use, as far as I can see, is Nicola Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* from 1555.[9] Here, Vicentino devotes Chapters 14–16 in the fourth book to 'The Method to Follow When Beginning a Composition', 'The Method to Follow in the Middle of Any Sort of Composition', and 'The Method of Devising the Ending of Compositions'.[10] This is a kind of question that has not been dealt with in earlier counterpoint theory, which may account for the slowness by which it found its way into music theoretical discourse, as well as the fact that it was a writer like Vicentino, with an explicit interest in ancient theory, who first did so. He also refers directly to Aristotle as the authority for his distinction between the parts of a composition.[11]

The chapter on how to devise a beginning mostly gives directions of a technical character: how to choose the tempo, the motivic material and style according to genre (for masses, 'Il suo principio dè hauere del graue, & cosi tutte le cose latine'; madrigals should have a medium pace, and *villotte* a fast pace), and how to shape the beginning of a fugue and where to place the entries of the different voices.

In the discussions of the middle and the end, however, there are instructions that both draw more directly on the Aristotelian principles, and that point in the direction of what I have suggested so far about Palestrina. The thing that gets the strongest emphasis is the way to treat the modes and their characteristics, such as the different

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[9] See the online edition at the *Thesaurus musicarum italicarum* http://www.euromusicology.org/tmiweb/tmiweb.htm), and the English translation in Nicola Vicentino: *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. with introduction and notes by Maria Rika Maniates, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

[10] *Ancient Music*, pp. 245–49.

[11] 'Il Filosofo dice, che fra due estremi, si dà il mezzo, & cosi nelle compositioni si danno i debiti termini del principio, del mezzo, et del Fine' (IV, ch. 15); 'The Philosopher [Aristotle] says that between two extremes there is a middle. In compositions, therefore, there exists the appropriate boundaries of the beginning, the middle and the end' (*Ancient Music*, p. 246).

cadential degrees. The middle 'is the part that keeps the range of the melodic contour of the mode on its feet'.[12] But in transitional passages in the middle it is permissible to deviate from the mode, since it has already been established by the beginning, and provided that the return to the mode in the final part is prepared carefully:

> It does not much matter whether you insert some passage or other that lies outside the mode, provided you approach the final part elegantly, by starting in good time and moving gradually and surely toward the pitches and location of the tone or mode.[13]

Vicentino in passing makes a significant remark concerning the *musical* organization within a piece, in a passage which otherwise stresses the importance of the *subject matter* of the text for the way a piece is shaped:

> It is the subject matter and the words that lead to an understanding of how the entire composition should be written, for certain incidental things cannot be taught unless you see the subject first. Of course, some commonplace things, such as certain stable limits in the ordering of cadences, can be regulated. But as to the procedure for motion and diminutions, any student with a little judgment will govern himself so as to accommodate the subject on which he must write his composition.[14]

The 'stable limit in the ordering of cadences'—a limit which, as we have seen, Palestrina observes—is singled out as one of the commonplaces that self-evidently has to be in place before the finer details of accomodating the music to the text can be worked out.

Even more explicit, as to the need for careful large-scale planning of a composition, is the description of the end:

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[12] 'Ilquale sarà quello che terrà in piedi, il termine del procedere del tono' (*Ancient Music*, p. 246).

[13] *Ancient Music*, p. 246. 'Et nelle parti che saranno fra il principio, et il mezzo, et fra il mezzo, et il fine, non importerà molto, a far qualche passaggio, che sarà fuore di Tono, ma con un bel modo' (Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, IV, ch. 15). It does not appear as entirely clear what sections of a work Vicentino has in mind with the phrase 'nelle parti che saranno fra il principio, et il mezzo, et fra il mezzo, et il fine', but at least it seems to refer to transitional passages of some sort.

[14] *Ancient music*, p. 247. 'Et il suggetto, et le parole, daranno ad intender tutta la compositione, come s'haurà da comporre, perche certe cose accidentali non si possono insegnare, se prima non si rappresenta il suggetto, sopra di che si hà da comporre. & alcune cose communi si possono regolare come sono certi termini stabili, de gli ordini delle cadentie, ma del proceder con moto, et con i passaggi, lo studente che hà un poco di giuditio si reggerà in modo, che si accommoderà secondo il suggetto sopra di che si hà da comporre' (Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, IV, ch. 15).

> The ending of a thing is the conclusion of its beginning and its middle. Moreover, the
> ending is the perfection of the thing initiated, a perfection developed from its imperfect
> beginning and middle.[15]

Vicentino declares that the end is the most important part of a composition, since it
should bring everything that has happened before it to a satisfactory conclusion and
perfection. Therefore, the composer is urged to plan the material of the beginning
and the middle carefully. He even goes so far as to suggest that the ending be written
first, and that this is actually a common practice among experienced composers—a
surprising statement, which, if correct, gives a rare glimpse into the composer's
workshop.[16] He also particularly singles out the harmonic aspect, stating that the
composition should progress smoothly 'from tone to tone', i.e. from one mode to
another:

> If a composer has not first decided on the purpose and goal, so to speak, toward which
> the subject will be directed, how then will he, without having first discovered it,
> proceed by a direct path to the determined ending? Many times it is necessary to make
> the ending of a composition before the beginning. Thus, the goal established, you can
> lead up to it with ease. [...] But experienced composers, who first write the ending,
> work up to it so elegantly that the listeners are not aware that the piece does not end on
> the initial mode. Such a composition proceeds by means of a sure and elegant
> technique of gradually leaving one mode for another in a leisurely way, without
> disturbing the audience, whose sense of hearing is left satisfied.[17]

Vicentino uses yet another image for a successful composition that strongly implies
a planned, goal-oriented progession—that of a journey:

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[15] *Ancient Music*, p. 248. 'Il fine di ciascuna cosa è la conclusione del Principio, et de il
mezzo d'essa cosa: et anchora il fine è la perfettione, ridotta dalla imperfettione, del suo
principio, & mezzo, della cosa principiata' (Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, IV, ch. 16).

[16] See also Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition
1450–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), for a general presentation.

[17] *Ancient Music*, p. 248–49. 'Et se il compositore non haura prima il scoppo ò uogli dir il
punto, oue s'habbi a indrizzar il suggetto a sè proposto. come si seguirà per dritto sentiero, al
suo terminato Fine, senza il fine prima ritrouato, et molte uolte occorre, nelle compositioni,
che si fara prima il fine, che il Principio et si darà il termine finito per potersi condurre, a
quello con agilita; [...] ma i compositori prattici, che comporranno prima il fine, si
conduceranno con bel modo à quello che gl'oditori non sè ne auuedranno, sè il fine sarà del
tono, principiato, ò d'altro tono, perche quella compositione, che caminerà con un certo
procedere, et un bel modo di entrare da lontano, di uno in un'altro tono, senza disturbo de gli
oditori à poco, à poco, di maniera che gl'orecchi resteranno satisfatte. (Vicentino, *L'antica
musica*, IV, ch. 16). The translation of *tono* with 'mode' and not 'tone' is supported by the
usage in the treatise as a whole, as well as by general usage.

> A composer, therefore, acts like a good traveler who, before his voyage, first decides on its goal. Having gathered together everything necessary, the traveler sets out and tries to reach the destination by the most appropriate routes possible.[18]

Although the emphasis here ultimately lies on reaching the final mode, his metaphor does, in the light of what he has said previously about deviations from the principal mode in the middle section of a composition, go beyond that: not only the final end, but also the most convenient route to that goal, and the necessary means to reach it, should be considered and planned.

In the decades after Vicentino, other theoreticians describe the large-scale organization of a piece of music in similar terms, but with an overall orientation that is more clearly in the direction of rhetorics. Gallus Dressler, in his *Praecepta musicae poeticae* from 1564,[19] specifies three parts of a composition, with different characteristics: the *exordium*, the middle, and the end. Dressler's description of the three parts is similar to Vicentino's on several points. The description of the exordium is the most technical, with prescriptions about how to present the mode in a clear way, using the correct distribution of the species of *diatessaron* and *diapente* (fourth and fifth, respectively). The middle is again likened to a journey, where some voices may take occasional rests in guest-houses along the road, before the journey continues with yet another fugal passage.[20] The final is the goal of the journey, which is not supposed to inspire further travelling, but where the defatigated voices come to their final rest.[21]

We may recognize, through the brief and poetic language in Dressler's description, the same kind of emphasis on plannedness that I have pointed to above. What is also noteworthy in his account is the emphasis on harmony as that which defines these stages. The *clausulae* (here used in the general sense of a cadence in a polyphonic texture) are where the voices gather strength on their journey, as 'receptacles for the wayward voices', through the perfect consonances. In an earlier

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[18] *Ancient Music*, p. 248. 'Et il compositore adunque farà come fa il buono perregrino, che inanzi che incomincia il suo uiaggio, a sè prima propone il fine d'esso uiaggio, et poi con le cose a egli necessarie, insieme s'inuia, et ricerca di andare al fine di detto uiaggio, per uie che siano più al suo proposito, tanto che possi peruenire al fine del suo uiaggio' (Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, IV, ch. 16)

[19] Edited in Bernhard Engelke, 'Praecepta mvsicae poeticae a D: Gallo Dresselero,' in *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 49–50 (1914–15), pp. 213–50.

[20] 'Exordio constituto in clausula aliquae voces conveniunt, ut ibi tanquam defatigatae in perfectis consonantijs tamquam in hospitio requiescunt. [Exemplum est "Concussum est mare".] Postea recollectis viribus ad fugam aliquam redeunt qua a singulis vocibus ordine expressa iterum clausula constituitur.' Dressler, *Praecepta*, ch. 13.

[21] 'Cum enim omnes clausulae sunt vocum errantium receptacula quid de fine iudicandum, ubi singulae voces non solum inspirare, sed tamquam in exoptate hospitio defatigatae tandem consistere debeant.' Dressler, *Praecepta*, ch. 14.

chapter, on the use of *clausulae*, Dressler makes it perfectly clear that musical harmony (*concentus*) is more than just a 'casual and accidental heaping together of consonances'. The *clausulae* are like the limbs of the body, and to make the body work properly, they must be arranged correctly in two respects: they must correspond first with the words, then with harmony.[22]

Half a century later, Joachim Burmeister presents a similar scheme for a composition: beginning, body, and end.[23] His entire project is more explicitly rhetoric, and so is his description of these parts (the first: exordium or *captatio benevolentiae*, the middle: the argument of the confirmation).[24] The rhetorical approach is possible without Aristotle, of course. But whereas Dressler could have written his text without direct recourse to a first-hand knowledge (and use) of Aristotle, there are passages which indicate that Burmeister can be positioned firmly within an Aristotelian tradition. His description of the ending is almost an exact quotation from Aristotle: 'the true ending of any work is reached when nothing more is needed for its conclusion.' Burmeister further defines this in terms of harmony: the end is 'where nothing more remains of the harmony, and where our instructions on how to end harmonic pieces are fulfilled'.[25]

In the same passage (Chapter 9), Burmeister goes on to discuss magnitude, again in terms that are quite similar to Aristotle's. An important criterion for beauty in Aristotle's discussion of the tragedy, is a balanced relation between magnitude and surveyability:

> Moreover, in everything that is beautiful, whether it be a living creature or any organism composed of parts, these parts must not only be orderly arranged but must also have a certain magnitude of their own; for beauty consists in magnitude and ordered arrangement. From which it follows that neither would a very small creature be beautiful [...] nor a very large one, since being unable to view it all at once, we lose the effect of a single whole; for instance, suppose a creature a thousand miles long.

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[22] 'Non sibi persuadeant adolescentes concentus musicales esse temerariam et fortuitam consonantiarum coaceriationem. [...] [Clausulae] tamquam partes integrum corpus constituunt. Non igitur sufficit tantum scire compositionem clausularum, sed discentes docendi sunt quo ordine clausulae conjungantur ut justam et auribus harmoniam reddant: Duo autem spectanda sunt in positu clausularum quorum alterum ut verbis alterum ut concentui convenienter respondeant ac aeque cohaereant.' Dressler, *Praecepta*, ch. 9.

[23] Joachim Burmeister, *Musica poetica* (Rostock, 1606). References to page numbers are to the edition and English translation by Benito V. Rivera, *Musical Poetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), from which the translations in this article have been taken.

[24] Chapter 15; pp. 202–5. Even though the rhetorical orientation of both Dressler and Burmeister is evident, it should be pointed out that both authors operate with a division into three sections—in accordance with Aristotle's description of tragedy—whereas classical rhetorics has five or six parts.

[25] *Musica poetica*, ch. 9; p. 149.

[...] But as for the natural limit of the action, the longer the better as far as magnitude goes, provided it can all be grasped at once.[26]

Parallel to this, Burmeister states that 'if both the text and harmony were not subdivided from beginning to end, they would be overextended and long drawn out, so that, being, as it were, ignorant and almost oblivious of endings, they would lose the grace which they could have achieved' (p. 149). Again, the subdivisions should be made through harmony.

This kind of unity is central to the organicist concept of form of later centuries, but the quotations can also be related to the developments within mass and motet writing in the second half of the fifteenth century and onwards. I will take this as a point of departure for a concluding discussion of the role of unity in music of the sixteenth century, and for possible connections between music theory, musical practice, and liturgy in the period mentioned.

The largest Renaissance masses, such as e.g. Obrecht's *Missa Maria Zart*, come dangerously close to the 'thousand miles' in Aristotle's description. We may ask, either which developments led to this grandeur, or what were the consequences of it. Why these imposingly large masses in the first place? Even though there exist a few mass cycles from the fourteenth century, these are isolated instances of a genre that was established as such only around the middle of the fifteenth century, and then mainly connected with the secular court chapels at the court of Burgundy and its followers. The development of the polyphonic mass thus belongs to the secular sphere, and it seems natural to consider the mass music as part of a larger cultural venture with an emphasis on the grandiose, on pomp and circumstance, in the honour of the court—and God.

If we are justified in taking the principle of grandeur and outward display as an important driving force behind the large masses of the early sixteenth century, then we have a scenario where pre-compositional decisions set certain preconditions which may be of direct importance for the very practical problems the composer has to solve: the large format may be an ideal, but for reasons that are alien to, and therefore only inadequately addressed by, the tricks of the composers' trade. We may thus regard the development that lead to pervasive imitation, through Obrecht's and other composers' struggle with the mass form and *cantus firmus*, as a mustering of new techniques to maintain unity in works where this was endangered by demands from the outside.

Or, conversely, we may instead ask if surveyability really was an issue at all for a Dufay, or even an Obrecht. We may, for instance, assume that a competent listener had the means to determine formal properties where we fail to recognize them. Even more likely, the question would have been considered irrelevant, because the lack of orientation or survey due to the length of the works may not have been a problem to

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[26] Aristotle, *Poetics*, ch. 7 (1450b–1451a).

fifteenth-century listeners. As Rob Wegman writes concerning Dufay's *Missa L'homme armé*:

> We are heirs to a musical tradition that values unity (whether cyclic or motivic) more
> than variety. [...] In the *Missa L'homme armé* Dufay seems to have been concerned to
> create a fundamentally irreducible variety of kaleidoscopic detail in which moments
> are to be relished rather than eliminated in search of some deeper structure.[27]

Along with its emphasis on variety (*varietas*) as the aesthetic foundation of Dufay's music, the quotation also hints at an opposite position, *our* tradition, where 'variety' has been replaced by 'unity' as the central principle, and the momentary exuberance of detail by goal-oriented regularity. As the analysis of Palestrina's motet 'Osculetur me' above is meant to show, Palestrina's music lies closer to 'our' tradition than to Dufay's (at least on points that have become central in that tradition, which may be why we perceive it that way; conversely, one might instead emphasize the importance of *varietas* also for Palestrina).

That said, it is not obvious how far the search for 'some deeper structure' in the music of the late Renaissance can be meaningfully pursued. It would for instance be possible to construe the cadential fragment in the very beginning of 'Osculetur me' (mm. 12–13) not just as a figure of the same general kind as, but also as a preparation of, the (re-)turn to the *molle* field and the *e flat* at the end of the motet (m. 55–end), thereby rounding off the motet in a natural way, forming an organic unity in accordance with organicist aesthetics of later centuries. This would be taking the importance of the Aristotelian doctrine about drama too far, and also drawing on criteria that did not become pronounced until the nineteenth century. Yet, the fact that such a construction is possible without seeming totally contrived is intriguing, and it suggests that some of the profound changes in musical style over the century between Dufay and Palestrina may be related to a reception—direct or indirect—of Aristotelian aesthetics. If the outcome of the previous discussion is that it may indeed be relevant to connect Palestrina's compositional technique in motets such as 'Osculetur me' with ideas in Aristotle's *Poetics* and their reception, this also gives us a common denominator with other aesthetic systems that build on the *Poetics*.

So far in this article, the question has been approached analytically, as a comparison between two freestanding systems, with little or no regard for their historical context. In the following I will bring in some such aspects, which connect the Aristotelian element with liturgical practice.

One might first ask why a composer of mostly sacred music, a branch of musical composition with a clearly defined function and strong traditions behind it, would turn to developments that primarily concerned literature, possibly through influence from a branch of music theory that was directed towards the music of Antiquity. Seen from this perspective, it would appear far more relevant to look for such traits

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[27] Liner notes to CD recording of Guillaume Dufay, *Missa L'homme armé* with Oxford Camerata, Naxos 8.553087.

in the madrigal literature, which is both ideologically closer to the quest for ancient music, and harmonically appears as far more advanced.

On a very practical level, Palestrina and Vicentino would doubtlessly have been acquainted. They were both active in papal circles in Rome during the 1550s, Palestrina as newly appointed *magister cantorum* of the Capella Giulia, Vicentino in the employment of the Ferrarese cardinal Ippolito II d'Este. The mid-sixteenth century is a period of fast and conscious development of methods and systems for composition, typically claiming a direct descendancy from the teachings of important composers, the prime example being Zarlino's encyclopedic *Istitutione harmoniche*, which to a large extent is a systematic presentation of the teachings of the great Venetian composer Adrian Willaert. Among other things, this indicates a closer relationship between theory and practical composition, which may have worked both ways: even though it is strictly hypothetical, Palestrina may have found Vicentino's ideas interesting.

One reason why he might have found interest in this ancient heritage can be assumed in connection with the Tridentine Council. One of the topics that was under discussion, although it did not, in fact, reach the final document, was the emphasis on the need for a clear projection of the text and the *meaning* of the text.[28] On a general level this has the implication that the latest development in the theory about how this is most efficiently accomplished—the *Poetics* and its reception—would have been of importance even for composers. Thus, even though the point is still conjectural, it is a reasonable construction that an awareness of certain branches of theory, which may eventually have brought with it changes in compositorial techniques, originated in liturgical considerations.

More specifically, the concern for the projection of a text through a piece of music would have had more direct consequences as well. Precisely such considerations are explicitly referred to by Vicentino, in one of the most interesting passages in his account—following directly upon the metaphor of the composer as the Good Traveller—where the awareness of the circumstances in which a given piece is sung is crucial:

> The same goes for the composer, when it occurs to him to compose over psalms, hymns, masses and other things to which the Choir has to respond, that he takes care that in the ending one stays in the tone or the mode, so that the choir can respond to it, in accordance with this mode; whereas in the composition of madrigals and other vernacular things that do not require a response from any choir, the composer can—in imitation of the words—end outside the tone, since it will not discord with anything, apart from the initial tone.[29]

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[28] See Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55 (2002), 1–37.

[29] 'Il medesimo occorre al compositore, quando a egli occorrerà, comporre sopra Psalmi, Hymni, Messe, & altre cose che habbino a rispondere al Choro, auuertira al Fine, che in quello

The distinction Vicentino draws is one between free-standing compositions and polyphonic works that, in some way or another, are part of a liturgical framework. In the former case, where nothing in particular follows, the requirement to reach a specific tonal goal is less rigorous than it would be for a liturgical item where the choir would have to respond. The choir here obviously refers to the group of singers who chant the general liturgy, where the polyphonic music that Vicentino is discussing, is almost an intruder.[30] The least this intruder can do, then, is to give the choir a clear sense of how and where they are supposed to enter to perform their duty—which liturgically speaking is far more important than what the polyphonic singers do. Implicit in Vicentino's statment is that this practical aspect of the use of polyphony in church services may be one of the reasons why composers should write with a certain harmonic goal-orientedness.[31] It is interesting to note how this in one sense stands in direct contradiction with Aristotle's definition: that an end is that which has nothing following it. Rather than indicating an inconsistency on Vicentino's part (but only a slight inconsistency, since the main point—that within the composition the end must follow with logical necessity from what has preceded it—remains intact, and even becomes a stronger demand when the liturgical circumstance is taken into acount), I see this as evidence of the force of the reception of the *Poetics* in the latter half of the sixteenth century: that its influence can be felt even in areas where it strictly speaking does not belong.

That none of the connections dicussed in this article were explicitly stated at the time means that the construction—which a historical interpretation like this will inevitably be in any case—depends on the context within which the construction is made. The aim of this article has been to point to a range of such circumstances which makes such a construction plausible: that some of the trends in polyphonic composition that appear to be new in the second half of the sixteenth century may

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si ritruoui nel tono, ò nel Modo, acciò che il Choro possi rispondere a quello, in proposito d'esso modo, poi della compositione de i Madrigali et altre cose uolgari, che non hanno a rispondere a Choro nissuno, allhora il compositore per imitatione delle parole, potrà finire fuori del tono, perche non discorderà con alcuno; se non con il tono principiato' (Vicentino, *L'antica musica*, IV, ch. 16).

[30] See the examples quoted by Jeffrey Dean concerning the attitude of the Roman clergy towards the use of polyphonic music in the sixteenth century (Jeffrey Dean, 'Listening to Sacred Polyphony *c.* 1500', in *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 611–37).

[31] But compare Anthony Cummings, 'Toward an Interpreatation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 43–59, who locates certain occasions when motets were commonly sung in the papal services, such as at the pope's dinner and as an optional addition at certain points during mass, predominantly occasions where an awareness of a strict liturgical context is *not* called for. Vicentino states this requirement quite unmistakably, however, and it seems apparent that he has a particular practice in mind. One may also speculate that the practice in Venice, where Vicentino had his background, may have been different from that of the papal chapel in Rome.

have their origin in a reception of the *Poetics* of Aristotle, and that this whole complex could partly have found its raison d'être in ritual requirements.

Living Rocks and *locus amoenus*: Architectural Representations of Paradise in Early Christianity

JENS FLEISCHER

C ompared to the importance of representations of the heavenly Jerusalem for the Gothic church, the interiors of the early Christian temples represent a far less codified material. And yet there is considerable evidence of this thinking, particularly within the context of the Near East. The ambiguity in the use of paradisiac-terrestrial and celestial themes makes its impact on the documents and sources of the Early Church.[1] When Bishop Paulinus of Nola (before 379?–431) had the modest *coemeterium* buildings near the grave of the martyr Felix rebuilt about ad 400, he placed the following inscription over an entrance from a garden: 'Christ's worshippers, take the path to heaven by way of this lovely sward. An approach from bright gardens is fitting, for from here is granted to those who desire it their departure to holy Paradise.'[2]

The present study aims to explore the interface between the theme from which Paulinus of Nola drew inspiration, the Christian *locus amoenus* and the architectural language in the Early Church. It immediately raises the question: is it posssible by means of architecture—in contrast to the pictorial medium (mosaics or frescoes)—to represent something which is present, and yet not present? It is beyond dispute that

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[1] Cf. G. Hellemo, *Adventus Domini* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 114.

[2] *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, trans. and annotated by P. G. Walsh, 2 vols (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1966–68), II (1968), p. 146. See also Günter Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, 65–80; J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902; repr. 1924), 309.

the dome as a symbol of heaven meets this demand,[3] but can one say the same about the other architectonic members, the walls, columns, and capitals? As a point of departure we have to look for vegetative, paradisiac motifs in Early Christian writings which correspond with these architectonic features when creating a place of worship.

Locus as Paradise in Patristic and Poetic Tradition

In Early Christianity, church plans embodied a thoroughly biblical understanding of worship. The architectural setting provided the frame for the mass and thus defined a sacred place and space. An examination of place and its spatial relationship reveals three different, yet intertwining themes: architectural narrative as a visual ritual,[4] space as a physical as well as a transcendental dimension,[5] and place as an event. In an every day sense an event is something which takes *place*. Event demands presence. The Eucharist itself is a liturgical and mystical event, but the place of worship has other connotations besides this. The *locus sanctus* was established as the place of veneration of one or more saints, while paradise was a recurring theme in the mosaics of the apses and gave the beholder a 'window' into a world beyond the walls of the church. From the reading of the Old Testament, paradise was understood as an episode in the history of mankind belonging to the beginning of time and to a place, too, namely Eden. This was generally believed to be situated somewhere in the East, and in Near Eastern religions the concept of Eden was undoubtedly

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[3] See Karl Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven', in *The Art Bulletin*, 27.1 (1945), 1–27; see also Earl Baldwin Smith, *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1950; repr. 1971).

[4] Which means that the reaction of the beholder becomes a ritual, in the sense that the beholder will experience e.g. the columns of the nave as a visual echo of the liturgical procession towards the East, cf. Mathews's phenomenological interpretation: 'The insistent motion of the nave, with its uniform columns marching in file towards the east', Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 94. Sennett follows the same line when he explains, on the basis of the longitudinal form of the Roman basilica, that 'the Romans sought to create a space in which a person was meant to move forward'. Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (London: Faber & Faber, 1994; pb. ed. 1996), p. 112. Likewise, the central dome of the domed basilica, with its connotations of heaven, will make the beholder look upwards every time he enters the nave. See also Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen's contribution in this volume.

[5] In Byzantine theology, this phenomenon or otherness has a specific term: *chora*. The concept originates in Plato's *Timaeus* (48a–53c) where *chora* is explained as a 'room' or the container of something. In Byzantine thinking it becomes a paradoxical space, 'contained and uncontained', which includes a 'presence and absence' (Nicoletta Isar, 'The Iconic Chora: A Kenotic Space of Presence and Void', in *Transfiguration*, 2.2 (2000), 67–69).

associated with the garden or park.[6] Furthermore, the Christians saw paradise as a contrast to earth, a basic point of orientation in life, and yet a place to which man will return. The last perspective was realised in the description in the Apocalypse of the other world where the heavenly Jerusalem is a city with the river and the tree of life.[7] The absorption of the *locus amoenus*, the ideal landscape of Greek and Latin poetry, into the Christian tradition is another important aspect.[8] All these connotations direct us well on our way towards the formulation of the problem: how clearly did the interior of the Early Christian Church signify a paradisiac walkscape?[9]

In spite of the diversity of architectural schemata in the Byzantine East and the Latin West the buildings had one religious perspective in common: they would all be related, as we have seen, to a sacred precinct, a Christian *temenos* (the term used in pagan Antiquity to denote the sacred place). We learn from the Church historian Sozomen's fifth-century record that a temenos in Mamre in Palestine contained an oak tree which was believed to date from the time of Abraham. When Constantine the Great had a church built inside this temenos, an impressive walled enclosure, probably constructed during the reign of Herod, it was only placed along the east side of it, the oak tree standing in the opposite side.[10] Mamre was a local pagan and Jewish cult centre before it was taken over by the Christians,[11] and the very relationship between the oak tree and the place points to a general phenomenon in many religions: the cult of trees.[12]

However, if the relationship between the sacred place and the extension of the church was not based on a general principle in early Christianity, this seems to have

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[6] See William L. Hanaway, Jr., 'Paradise on Earth: The Terrestial Garden in Persian Literature', in *The Islamic Garden* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1976), 43–67.

[7] Rev. 22. 1–2. St Augustine writes in *De civitate Dei* that a spiritual meaning af Paradise does not exclude the possible existence of an earthly paradise. See *Saint Augustine: The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by Philip Levine (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 217. For the division of these two concepts, see Lise Bek, *Towards Paradise on Earth*, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum, 9 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980), p. 51.

[8] D. Pearsall and E. Salter, *Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World* (London: Elek, 1973), p. 64.

[9] 'Walkscape' is a modern term which deals with walking in land- or townscapes as a kind of land art, see F. Careri, *Walkscapes. Walking as an Aesthetic Practice* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2002).

[10] J. E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places. The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 88–93.

[11] Taylor, pp. 87–88.

[12] See for example A. D. Napier, *Masks, Transformation, and Paradox* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 207–12.

been codified in a later phase. A standard rule for the extension of the Christian *temenos* was drawn up in the early fifth century. According to a decree issued by the emperors Honorius and Theodosius '[...] the sanctity of ecclesiastical reverence shall apply to the space of fifty paces beyond the doors of the church. If anyone should hold a person who goes forth from this place, he shall incur the criminal charge of sacrilege'.[13]

The very heart of this *temenos*, regardless of any extension, would always be the idea of the altar prefigured in the Old Testament, namely in Jacob's dream at Bethel where he saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven and angels descending and ascending. 'How dreadful is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven,'[14] was Jacob's response. But the house in which man encountered God was not only a *mysterium tremendum*.[15]

This otherness of place, heaven and paradise, presence and absence, is elaborated and paraphrased in the writings of the Fathers and in other literary sources. The Cappadocian Father St Gregory of Nyssa (d. 394) extends the meaning of place even further. In *The Life of Moses* he gives an allegorical interpretation of Moses' meeting with Yahweh in the cleft.[16] He compares the cleft to the pleasure of paradise the, eternal tabernacle, the bosom of the patriarch, and Jerusalem which is above.[17]

The image of a *paradeisos* as part of an eschatological way of thinking may in particular have found its inspiration in the apocryphal literature. The author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (c. 150) writes that:

> [...] the Lord showed me a very great region outside this world exceeding bright with light, and the air of that place illuminated with the beams of the sun, and the earth of itself flowering with blossoms that fade not, and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible, and bearing blessed fruit. And so great was the blossom that the odour thereof was borne thence even unto us.[18]

In the *Apocalypse of Paul* (probably late fourth century?) the angel takes the apostle to the Promised Land:

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[13] *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. by Clyde Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952; repr. 1969), p. 483.

[14] Genesis 28. 17.

[15] See Robert Taft, 'The Liturgy of the Great Church', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 34–35 (1980–81), 69.

[16] Exodus 33. 22.

[17] Migne, PG 44, col. 407. For the mystical theology of St Gregory's *The Life of Moses*, see Anthony S. Meredith, *Gregory of Nyssa* (Routledge: London/New York, 1999) pp. 99–100. See also *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of Moses*, trans. by Abraham J. Malherbe and Everett Ferguson (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), pp. 5–9.

[18] *The Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924; repr. 1975) p. 508.

> And I looked round about that land and saw a river flowing with milk and honey. And there were at the brink of the river trees planted, full of fruits: now every tree bore twelve fruits in the year, and they had various and divers fruits: and I saw the fashion (creation) of that place and all the work of God, and there I saw palm-trees of twenty cubits and others of ten cubits: and that land was seven times brighter than silver. And the trees were full of fruits from the root even to the upper branches.[19]

These examples draw perhaps more than any others on the Jewish tradition and the *locus amoenus* as a classical *genre*.[20] The specific term *locus amoenus* did not occur in classical prose and poetry until the beginning of Imperial Rome when it was used of pleasant places affecting the sense of sight e.g. a beautiful river, landscape, or garden. But the very idea of delightful places represented a much older tradition. Curtius has summed up the legacy of Homeric landscape which the early Christian theologians and hymnographers must have been familiar with owing to the whole tradition of *paideia*, the education or training in the Hellenistic and Roman world covering science as well as literature.[21]

From Homer's landscape later generations took certain motifs which became permanent elements in a long chain of tradition: the place of heart's desire, beautiful with perpetual spring, as the scene of a blessed life after death; the lovely miniature landscape which combines tree, spring, and grass; the wood with various species of trees; the carpet of flowers.[22]

The journey to these ideal places involves the moving of the mind from an outer physical world to an inner spiritual one. In this action there is a parallel to St Augustine's *De vera religione*, where he instructs his reader not to go out into the world, but to return to himself and find the truth 'in the inner man.'[23] This idea occurs again and again in St Augustine's writings. In his *Confessiones* he retired to a villa at Cassiciacum before his conversion, and he presents it as a *locus amoenus*. 'taking refuge from the commotion of the world in the pleasantness of God's eternally green paradise.'[24] As Stock has pointed out the 'pleasant place' at Ostia is not a topographical location 'but a point of departure for insight into mind and

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[19] *Apocryphal*, p. 537.

[20] N. Bugge Hansen, *That pleasant place* (Copenhagen: Akademisk, 1973), p. 11.

[21] For the use of *paideia*, see Vappu Pyykkö, *Die griechischen Mythen bei den grossen Kappadokiern und bei Johannes Chrysostomos*, Anales Universitatis Turkuensis, ser. B, 193 (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1991), pp. 27–28.

[22] E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 186.

[23] The full Latin version runs: 'Noli foras ire, in teipsum redi, in interiore homine veritas habitat.' PL 34, col. 154.

[24] Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX. 3. 13–17. For trans. and Augustine's use of the topos to describe paradise, see B. Stock, *Augustine the Reader* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996; repr. 1998), p. 112, n. 4.

soul.'[25] Obviously the experience of finding the truth, the 'inner man', and the sacred space of the church made possible a sublime fusion of body, spirit and architectural enclosure.

Exactly the same perspective characterizes St Jerome's *Letter XLIII* written ad 315 to Marcella:

> Let us [...] make for the haven of a rural retreat [...] If thus we spend our days, sleep will not call us away from prayer, nor overfeeding from study. In summer the shade of a tree will give us privacy. In autumn the mild air and the leaves beneath our feet point out a place for rest. In spring the fields are gay with flowers, and bird's plaintive notes will make our psalms sound all sweeter.[26]

These allegorical pictures deal, as we have seen, expressly with concepts beyond ordinary human experience. But the problem of the Early Church, according to Eco, was how to reconcile this infinity of interpretations with the univocality of the message.[27] In this perspective Eco points at an empirical solution: the 'good' interpretation was provided if the reader had a political or rhetorical power to make the truth of the text speak in a certain way.[28] The allegorical images of paradise shared such a power. Furthermore, some of the early Christian writers even took the actual geographical existence of paradise for granted. In *De genesi ad litteram* but also in *De civitate Dei* St Augustine also claims the existence of a historical-geographical Garden of Eden, yet without giving it a precise topographical position. According to St Augustine it had to be found somewhere in the east, possibly on a mountain situated in the middle of the ocean.[29] St Epiphanius, a bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (fourth century) claimed:

> I saw the waters of Gehon [the Nile], waters which I gazed at with these bodily eyes [...] And I simply drank the waters from the great river Euphrates, which you can touch with your hands and sip with your lips; these are no spiritual waters.[30]

An example of this can be found in the left aisle of the so-called Christian basilica on the west side of the western Decumanus (main street) in Ostia. This building dates from the end of the fourth century, and contains two columns supporting an

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[25] Stock, *Augustine*, pp. 119–20.

[26] F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of St. Jerome* (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933; repr. 1963), 175.

[27] Umberto Eco, 'At the Roots of the Modern Concept of Symbol', in *Social Research*, 52 (1985), 383–402 (p. 390).

[28] Eco, 'At the Roots of the Modern Concept Symbol', p. 391.

[29] Jakob Balling, *Historisk Kristendom: Artikler og afhandlinger i udvalg* (København: Forlaget Anis, 2003), p. 102.

[30] For the quotation and discussion of the theme, see H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987).

architrave with an inscription mentioning the four rivers—Gehon, Tigris, Phison and Euphrates.[31] In Old St Peter's the apse was decorated with a mosaic which showed the Lamb of God on a mountain from which four rivers floated. As late as the early eighth century the Ravennate author of a cosmographia claimed that paradise, the pleasant place of immortality, was located in the East, yet no human being was allowed to enter and explore those regions.[32] Unquestionably the Ravennate cosmographer based his description of the *paradisus terrestris* on *Genesis*: '[...]and he placed at the east of the Garden of Eden cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.'[33]

To make a preliminary summary. Two aspects of the *locus* are manifested in the above mentioned patristic literature. The first presents a paradise garden, while the second sees the rural images of heaven replaced by or complemented by an urban concept, namely the holy city of Jerusalem. The two concepts differ, of course, since they represent different kinds of walkscapes, the terrestrial landscape and the heavenly cityscape. But the distinction was not always sharp. We are facing a tradition where any notion could be applied in very different contexts and in this way be open to various interpretations. Bearing in mind the preceding presentation of certain symbols and notions concerning paradise as they occur in Early Christian writings, we can now turn to the practical applications of these ideas in the church buildings themselves.

A Paradisiac Scenography

As to the pictorial representation of the garden of Eden, several apsidal mosaic programmes dating from between the fourth and the seventh century show Christ in the splendour of this abode in paradise, a garden with four rivers. When it comes, however, to the architectural setting, a scenographic architecture, the situation is much more problematic. In this context organic features of columns would seem to be the most obvious bearers of paradisiac references. A detail of the nave mosaics in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo (fifth-century Ravenna) may serve as an initial example. Here, the three kings Balthasar, Melchior, and Caspar signify the Epiphany by bringing their offering to the Mother of God and the Christ child. The palm trees behind and between the Magi are here of special interest since their trunks exhibit a

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[31] For the inscription and dating of the building, see R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 397–98.

[32] J. Schnetz, *Ravennas Anonymus: Cosmographia: Eine Erdbeschreibung um das Jahr 700*, Nomina Germanica, 10 (Uppsala, 1951).

[33] Genesis 3. 24. For the discussion of the topography of Eden and the four rivers as a theme in early Christian and patristic tradition, see also: L.-I. Ringbom, *Paradisus Terrestris: Myt, Bild och Verklighet*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, Nova Series C., 1 (Helsingfors: Tilgmann AB), pp. 14–22.

spiral fluting like a classical column so that the distinction between the tree and the stone column is—perhaps symbolically—blurred.

The praises which Procopius in the sixth century bestowed on Justinian's St Sophia in Constantinople provide us with a *Leitmotiv* concerning the use of vegetal structures in Early Christian architecture: 'Or who could recount the beauty of the columns and the stones with which the church is adorned? One might imagine that he had come upon a meadow with its flowers in full bloom.'[34] How did the architectural settings then match with Procopius's description of the vegetal structures in the imperial church? Visiting the galleries of St Sophia the beholder would experience, far better then today, basket-shaped and heavily undercut capitals, a technique transforming the Corinthian leaves into a floating, lacelike structure. It should be noted that their foliage was once gilded and their backgrounds coloured blue.[35] The vertical movement of the Corinthian leaves would be continued in the arcades covered with mosaics, today displaying only fragments of winding foliage.

In addition to the vertical structures of St Sophia the mosaic pavements must also be taken into consideration. Four transverse bands of green marble, some better preserved than others, divide the nave of the church. Majeska has raised the question whether they symbolize the four rivers of paradise.[36] A Late Byzantine text makes an allusion to the theme, e.g. 'like a sea, [... like] ever flowing waters of a river; for he [Emperor Justinian] called the four borders [φινας = Latin *fines*] of the church the four rivers which went out of paradise.'[37] Even if it cannot be confirmed that the bands were designed from the very beginning to represent paradise, they played a role as part of the walkscape in the liturgical context. Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1429) explains that when the patriarch participates in solemn vespers in St Sophia he will at a certain point of the liturgy advance 'to the first river', before he venerates the image of Christ above the imperial doors of the templon.[38] Majeska concludes, on the basis of Symeon of Thessalonica as well as other literary and archaeological sources, that the bands in St Sophia did have a liturgical function and were also a reference to paradise. In other churches the 'rivers' were temporarily represented by chalk lines.[39]

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[34] *Procopius: 7, Buildings*, ed. and trans. by H. B. Dewing (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940; repr. 1971), p. 27.

[35] J. Arnott Hamilton, *Byzantine Architecture and Decoration* (London: Batsford, 1933; repr. 1956), p. 78.

[36] George P. Majeska, 'Notes on the Archaeology of St Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 32 (1978), 299.

[37] Majeska, 'Archaeology of St Sophia', p. 299.

[38] Majeska, 'Archaeology of St Sophia', p. 303.

[39] Majeska, 'Archaeology of St Sophia', p. 303.

The Wind-blown Acanthus

The impression of a pleasant, paradisiac meadow is also seen in San Vitale in Ravenna. Here, the visitor encounters meandering green stalks with leaves in the floor mosaic. Following the structure upwards, the capitals covered with foliage succeed the veined marble columns, and finally the foliage is repeated on the impost right above the capital. The general impression is of loftiness and organic movement. The early Byzantine capitals of St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonica demonstrate the same organic pattern, yet with a new tendency towards a more dynamic motion. This feature may be related to a particular version of Corinthian capitals with so-called wind-blown acanthus.

Some of the most remarkable examples of the second form are preserved in Syria, and research has predominantly focused on this region, even if the motif occurs outside Syria, e.g. in St Demetrios in Thessalonica. The Syrian material includes, in fact, a wide range of examples which enable us to see the foliage in different stages of motion. From slight movement as if the acanthus start to sway in an invisible wind, not yet bending the leaves in one specific direction, to a stage where the 'wind-blown acanthus' seem to be under a stronger pressure the leaves being twisted in one direction around the core of the capital.

The most striking example is the church of Qal'at Si'man (St Simeon Stylite's Church) in northern Syria. The huge martyrium was constructed during the reign of emperor Zeno (476–91). It should be noticed that wind-blown and 'normal' Corinthian capitals decorate the exterior as well as the interior of the huge building complex. Some of the columns of the narthex introducing the so-called southern basilica carry carved capitals covered by 'wind-blown acanthus leaves' with spiky edges (Fig. 1.). But the highlight is the octagonal chamber in the middle of the martyrium, centred round Simeon's pillar, where five of the preserved capitals blow in different directions.

It has been claimed that this stylistic feature was first employed at Qal'at Sim'an and thereafter spread to other parts of Syria and Byzantium. But the pattern of distribution may have been more complex.[40] At any rate, it is an established fact that between the last quarter of the fifth century and the mid-sixth century the 'wind-blown' form was spread to the Syrian churches of Baquirha, al-Bara, Qasr ibn-

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[40] This discussion goes back to R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Berlin/Leipzig: Verlag von Walter de Gruyter, 1936). See also R. Naumann 'Zur Ornamentik der Wallfahrtskirche', in D. Krencker, *Die Wallfahrtskirche des Simeon Stylites in Kal'at Sim'an'*, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 4 (1938), (p. 31). Kleinbauer suggests that the capitals with wind-blown acanthus leaves 'migrated from Antioch to other sites in Syria'. W. Eugene Kleinbauer, 'The Origins and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27 (1973), 111, note 104.

Wardan, and Me'ez.[41] A capital in the ruins of the eastern basilica at Baquirha displays a less refined example of the 'wind-blown acanthus' (Fig. 2.). Outside Syria a valuable material is still existent in Thessalonica. Due to its number of richly decorated churches Gregory Palamas (*c.* 1296-1359) nicknamed the city paradise on earth.[42] St Demetrios, a shrine church built in the mid-fifth century, is furnished with a variety of carved capitals among others some of the 'wind-blown acanthus' type.[43] A much later example is still preserved in Thessalonica in the interior of the church dedicated to St Sophia. In the north arcade of the naos you will see swept acanthus, probably fifth-century spoils. The building was constructed between 690 and 730. Capitals of the 'wind-blown acanthus' type were also incorporated into the ninth-century Great Mosque in Kairouan (Tunesia).[44] Later still the motif was transferred to the West.[45]

Provided that our reading of the swept acanthus motif is correct, i.e. we infer that the shape is to be taken as a sign of a gust of wind, the twisted structures prompt a persistent question: what makes the acanthus leaves blow in an imaginary wind? As to the martyrium of Qal'at Si'man, Mango sees the capitals as a work executed by a monk 'miraculously granted a "spirit of wisdom."'[46] Butler speaks of an 'animated form of capital'.[47] But, could the animated leaves be interpreted as a symbol of paradise and thereby related to a specific Near Eastern tradition? The Syrian hymnographers offer us, in fact, some directions. First of all there is a tradition for the allegorical merging of garden and sacred building. St Ephrem the Syrian (*c.* 306–73) formed the following stanzas:

> Symbols of paradise
> —and its disposition he has depicted for us;
> established, fair and desirable in every way,
> —in its height and its beauty,
> —in its fragrance and variety.
> It is the haven of all riches;
> —in it the Church is symbolized [...]

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[41] For the last three monuments mentioned, see Christine Strube, 'Die Kapitelle von Quasr ibn Wardan', in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 26 (1983), 65–77.

[42] *Homilia* 43; Migne, PG 151, col. 548,.

[43] Robert Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1988), p. 163.

[44] See Noureddine Harrazi, *Chapiteaux de la grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, Bibliothèque Archéologique (Tunis: Institut National d'Archeologie et d'Art, 1982), IV:1, 145–46.

[45] For example the main doors of the west front of San Marco in Venice. For Notre Dame in Paris, see I. Pena, *The Christian Art of Syria* (Reading: Garnet, 1997), p. 239.

[46] C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1976), p. 28.

[47] H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, ed. by E. Baldwin Smith (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1929; repr. 1969), p. 37.

He planted the garden most fair,
—he built the Church most pure.[48]

Isaac of Antioch (*c.* 460) wrote a nocturnal hymn which paraphrased Psalm 92 (as a song for the Sabbath) and included the verses:

The righteous flourish like the palm tree
and grow like a cedar in Lebanon
They are planted in the house of the Lord
they flourish in the courts of our God
They still bring forth fruit in old age
they are ever full of sap and green.[49]

But the most convincing interpretation, being closest to the theme of wind, is Ephrem the Syrian's third hymn on paradise of which he wrote a cycle of fifteen. The third verse runs:

Perhaps that blessed tree,
    The Tree of Life
is, by its rays,
    the sun of Paradise;
its leaves glisten,
    and on them are impressed
the spiritual graces
    of that Garden.
In the breezes the other trees
    bow down as if in worship
before that sovereign
    and leader of the trees.[50]

Here it is clearly stated that paradise is a *locus* of breezes making the 'ordinary' trees bend as they worship the Tree of Life. Going back to the afore-mentioned Ravennate *cosmographia* the reader is informed that due to the blowing winds from paradise the perfumed spirit [The Holy Spirit?] makes the trees in the neighbouring areas produce

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[48] R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syrian Tradition* (London: Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 259.

[49] See Adalbert Hamman and Henri Daniel-Rops, OFM, *Prières des premiers chrétiens* (Paris: Libraire Arthème Fayard, 1952), pp. 276–78. For the identification of Isaac of Antioch, see *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, second ed. by Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, 10 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1957–65), v (1960; repr. 1986), p. 772.

[50] *Saint Ephrem: Hymns on Paradise*, trans. by S. Brock (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), p. 91.

sweet-scented substances.[51] As the author holds that he refers to 'some historians who explain themselves with accuracy', we must understand the explanation of the paradisiac winds as a tradition which, as such, may explain the origin of the 'wind blown' capitals, a tradition particularly favoured by Syrian Christianity, and repeated as an echo in the mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus (*c.* 705–15). In the portico of the northeastern corner of the courtyard a capital (spolia) shows the acanthus in the beginning phase of waving (Fig. 3.), and on the neighbouring wall above the portico a mosaic represents an idealized landscape with trees (Fig. 4.).[52]

Other Near East. Vegetative Motifs

The so-called Baptistery of the Orthodox in Ravenna, an octagonal construction from the mid- or late fifth-century, stands out as one of the most striking examples of this fertile architecture. Its interior was adorned with mosaics by Bishop Neon towards the end of the same century. The mosaic decoration combines with the vertical building structures in a most dynamic way. Especially notable ones the eight corner columns. They carry blinded arcades and support an acanthus motif which starts as a candelabra, proceeds as a floral framework encircling a prophet, and develops finally into an expanding, symmetrically arranged scroll.

What is most significant is the union of a column and a floral candelabra which constitutes a reference to one of the basic elements in architecture: the *Baumsäule* in Bandmann's terminology. Originally the *Baumsäule* was a pillar constituting together with other pillars the dwelling-place of the deity but without a representative function.[53] In Late Antiquity the idea of such a *Baumsäule* materialized in several forms due to the fact that Roman architecture was so prolific.[54] We encounter several characteristic forms. The Archaeological Museum of Istanbul houses a shaft in the form of the trunk of a palm tree (Fig. 5.). It can be attributed to the fourth century.[55] A similar piece of architectural sculpture is in the Archaeological Museum of Corinth and in all likelihood it is from the same period.

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[51] Schnetz, p. 9.

[52] For the discussion of a possible Byzantine origin and the meaning of the theme, see R. Ettinghausen and O. Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650–1250* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 42–44.

[53] 'Ganz gewiss steht am Anfang der Geschichte der Säule die einen Raum unterteilende Stütze des Wohnraums ohne abbildende Bedeutung.' Bandmann, *Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, p. 76.

[54] For an important survey of the Roman material including the garden-motif, see E. Börsch-Supan: *Garten-, Landschafts- und Paradiesmotive im Innenraum* (Berlin: Hessling, 1967).

[55] Nezih Firatli, *A Short Guide to the Byzantine Works of Art in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul* (Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaasi, 1955), cat. no. 342. For a detailed

Another version of this organicism is the so-called acanthus column. Three drums of a column were found in the 1930s during the excavations in Corinth. They were built into the late walls in front of the Roman shops. Each drum carries a ring of elongated leaves around its neck.[56] A variant has been found in the Roman town Apamea in Eastern Syria where the northern entrance of the *Agora* was marked by a pavilion with columns on beautifully carved bases. The upper part of the motif is worked out as a wreath of acanthus leaves, the lower part probably represents stylised bay leaves. According to two inscriptions uncovered during the excavation in 1971 the construction of the building as well as the arrangement of colonnades connected with the *agora* can be dated to the second century ad.[57] As far as we know, this form is rare and its impact on Early Medieval architecture may only have been in the form of *spolia* (reused building material, primarily with architectural sculpture). Only one parallel can be found, namely the pillars which adorn the choir-doors in the church of St Prassede in Rome. Even though the acanthus columns themselves probably date from Roman Antiquity,[58] they were most likely incorporated into the architectural space of St Prassede when Pope Paschal I had it rebuilt in the early eighth century, and they can thus, at least through their reception history, be drawn into an interpretation of Christian symbols.

Another variation are the so-called Pilastri Acritani which found their way to Venice after the Fourth Crusade. The piers originate from the church of St Polyeuktos in Constantinople, erected during the early reign of Justinian the Great (*c.* 524–27), and later destroyed. The shafts and capitals of the piers are covered with spiky acanthus leaves and vines (Fig. 6.). The vineleaves spring from a double stem. According to the excavations, the church of St Polyeuktos had been designed with a square central nave in which the main entablature had been enriched with arched niches in the corners. Each of them was filled by a peacock with an outspread tail. As a symbol the peacock often represents paradise and eternity. The peacock arches carried an inscription in raised letters. Part of it has survived and was recognized as coming from a poem of seventy-six hexameter lines. The entire text has been

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discription, see Gustave Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*, 3 vols (Constantinople: Musées Impérieux Ottomans, 1912–14), III (1914), cat. no. 1247.

[56] Oscar Broneer, 'Excavations in Corinth, 1934', in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 39 (1935), 66.

[57] J. C. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée* (Bruxelles: Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, 1981), p. 69.

[58] Krautheimer (R. Krautheimer Wolfgang Frankl, and Spencer Corbett, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae*, 5 vols (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Christiana: 1937–77), III (1967), 236–37, *sub verba* 'S. Prassede') describes them as 'Roman spoils of an elegant and unusual design'. W. Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, 3 vols (Wien: Brüder Hollinek, 1967–74), III (1974), 608, dates them to Roman Antiquity, and hardly of Christian provenance. See also Maurizio Caperna, *La Basilica di Santa Prassede*, Genoa: Edizione d'Arte Marconi, 1999), p. 58, note 41.

preserved in the *Palatine Anthology*. A few lines should be quoted: 'The walls, opposite each other, have recalled to life in measureless paths marvellous meadows of precious materials.'[59] Once again the picture of a paradisiac landscape develops. Similar descriptive texts can be found in Bishop Sidonius Apollinaris's writings in the mid-fifth century. In a startlingly illuminating passage in one of his epistles Sidonius Apollinaris quotes an inscription for a new church in Lyons:

> Marble diversified with a varied gleam covers the floor, the vault and the windows; in a multi-coloured design a verdant grassy encrustation leads a curving line of sapphire-coloured stones across the leek-green glass [...] and the field (*campum*) in the middle is clothed with a stony forest (*silva*) of widely spaced columns.[60]

Sidonius's comparison of the columns with trees enclosing a field explains the Christian perspective of transmuting the Promised Land, the distant escatological perspective, from future to present—by means of the lavishness that architecture can provide.

If we return to the configuration of column and candelabra in all the corners of the Baptistery of the Orthodox in Ravenna it also included the pictorial representation of prophets. And this theme points to another aspect of the meaning of the columnal structure: the column as *Gestaltsaüle*. We are once more referring to Bandmann's terminology.[61] The relationship between the tree, the preachers of the Church and *Domus Spiritualis* can be judged from the following quotations. Firstly, in the early Christian tradition we encounter two literary sources which reflect the relationship between the tree and wisdom. In the *Epistle to Diognetus* (dated with some uncertainty to the late second century) the author explains:

> They become a very paradise of delight; they make a grove to spring up and flourish within themselves, which yields all manner of nourishment and adorns them with fruits of every kind. For in that garden are planted both the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life—for it is not the Tree of Knowledge that causes death; the deadly thing is disobedience.[62]

St Ephrem the Syrian contributes to the meaning of the tree as follows:

> for truth itself is root and stem—a noble tree—and on its branch,

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[59] M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium* (London: Harvey Miller, 1989), p. 34.

[60] For the translation and discussion of visual sensibilities, see John Onians, 'Abstraction and Imagination in Late Antiquity', in *ArtHist*, 3.1 (1980), 7, 18.

[61] Bandmann, *Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, p. 84.

[62] *Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. by M. Staniforth (New York: Dorset Press, 1968; repr.1986), p. 183. Cf. Pseudo-Melito of the second century: 'Bases columnarum, libri Legis et prophetarum ubi et supra,' *Clavis Melitonis*, in *Analecta Sacra, Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, ed. by Jean-Baptiste Pitra, 9 vols (Paris: Jouby et Roger, 1876–1891), II (1884), 69.

our righteous works God took, like fruits,
and placed, where now, by faith, they hang.[63]

In addition the link between column and preacher was also recognized as a tradition. St Gregory the Great wrote late in the sixth century: 'The columns of heaven are either the angels or the greatest preachers of the church [...] Because everyone, who by severe striving is strengthened in the work of God is rising like a column in the spiritual building.'[64]

Living Stones

This particular modality of architecture points at the same time to a Jewish-Christian key metaphor, a key to medieval architecture as a whole, that is to say 'the living stone.' There is this reference in Deuteronomy 32. 13: '[...] and he made him suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock.' And I Peter 2. 4 'To whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but Chosen of God.' The metaphor of the living stone established its own tradition during the Middle Ages. We should here draw the attention to the ecclesiologist William Durandus who was Bishop of Mende, in the thirteenth century and wrote the *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Durandus instructed his reader in this way: 'All things which could be seen in the church, which decorated the church contained secrets and references, and they breathed the sweets of heaven, they were the honey of the rock, the oil of the flinty rock.'

To sum up: the interior walls of the early churches gave the beholder a vision of a paradisiac landscape, growth, cyclic life, and eternity. A kind of *artificiosa memoria* is repeatedly created by the visual perception of architectural sculpture and pictorial decorations.[65] Taking the example of the Baptistery of the Orthodox into consideration it is relevant to look at the rites of initiation in the Early Church. Cyril of Jerusalem explains in his *Mystagogic Catheceses* (2. 2) that the act of disrobing,

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[63] Palmer, 'St Ephrem of Syria's Hymn on Faith 7: An Ode on his Own Name', in *Sobornost*, 17.1 (1995), 29.

[64] Frans Carlsson, *The Iconology of Tectonics in Romanesque Art* (Lund: Lund University, 1976), p. 28.

[65] The idea of combining object and place is a mnemonic device going back to Roman Antiquity. The anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, written at the time of Cicero, explains how the artificial memory is made up of places and pictures. Places which are easy to remember may be a house, a room with columns (sic!), a corner or an arcade. If we want to recall a horse, a lion or an eagle, we must place the pictures of them in specific *loci*. See Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966) and Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) for presentations of ancient and medieval mnemonics.

as part of the baptismal rite, is the discarding of the old man, and a return to the innocence of the paradise.'[66] In addition to this Cyril teaches the candidates that they should be transplanted like spiritual olive trees and become branches of the true vine.[67] The paradisiac perspective is here rendered in the most painterly way like the interior wall concept in Ravenna.

Another ritual took place in the forecourt of the Constantinian Basilica of St Peter at Rome. According to old plans and other documentary material the forecourt was laid out as a large garden planted with flowers and shrubs. It soon aquired the name of *Paradise*, and in the centre of the garth arose the fountain with the bronze pine cone, now to be seen in the Vatican Palace. The pine cone was protected by a bronze canopy supported by four porphyry columns and crowned by a variety of objects, among which were the two peacocks which are still to be seen in the Vatican Museum. The whole arrangement was designed for the pilgrims. They could wash themselves before entering the basilica itself, and according to Paulinus of Nola the ritual consisted of washing hands and lips.[68]

The paradisiac scenery in the atrium may have functioned as a prefiguration of a far more impressive representation in the *aula sacra* itself. The theme was revived when the pilgrims approached the choir facing a huge mosaic which covered the conch of the apse. The beholder would see Christ seated in a paradisiac landscape. On the floor there would be the vine-scroll columns, nearly five metres in height, forming an iconostasis-like screen across the front of the chancel. During the later administration of Old St Peter's more columns were added. Each of the eleven extant columns is cut from a single block of fine-grained, translucent, Greek marble. The shaft is decorated with alternate zones of spiral fluting and scroll-work. Winged Cupids play among the vine foliage. The entire concept is of Near-Eastern origin; according to Ward-Perkins they must have been carved in the late second or early third centuries AD.[69] The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions six columns brought from Greece, and Ward-Perkins supposes that they come from the region of the northern Aegean Sea, alternatively from Constantinople or its neighbourhood.[70]

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[66] For further information about this sequence of the early baptismal rite, see C. Jones and others, *The Study of Liturgy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978; rev. ed. and repr. 1997), p. 135.

[67] *Catechesis* II, IV; Migne, PG 33, col. 373.

[68] Paulinus of Nola, Ep. XIII, 13.

[69] Jocelyn Toynbee and J. B Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London: Longmans & Green, 1956; repr. 1958), pp. 204–05; see also J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Shrine of St. Peter and its Twelve Spiral Columns', in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 42 (1952), 21 ff.; for the impact of the theme on the Early Medieval canon tables, see Elisabeth Rosenbaum, 'The Vine Columns of Old St. Peter's in Carolingian Canon Tables', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 18 (1955), 1.

[70] Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter*, p. 205.

To conclude: The concept of the columns once more sharpens the focus on a particular Near Eastern tradition in Late Antiquity which gave the Christian church builders the possibility of framing the paradisiac theme. They provided the beholder with another sign of eternal life, a *locus amoenus*.

Fig. 1. Qal'at Si'man. Octagon, looking north-west, as in 2000. Left: a capital of the 'wind-blown acanthus' type. Photo: Tobias Fleischer.
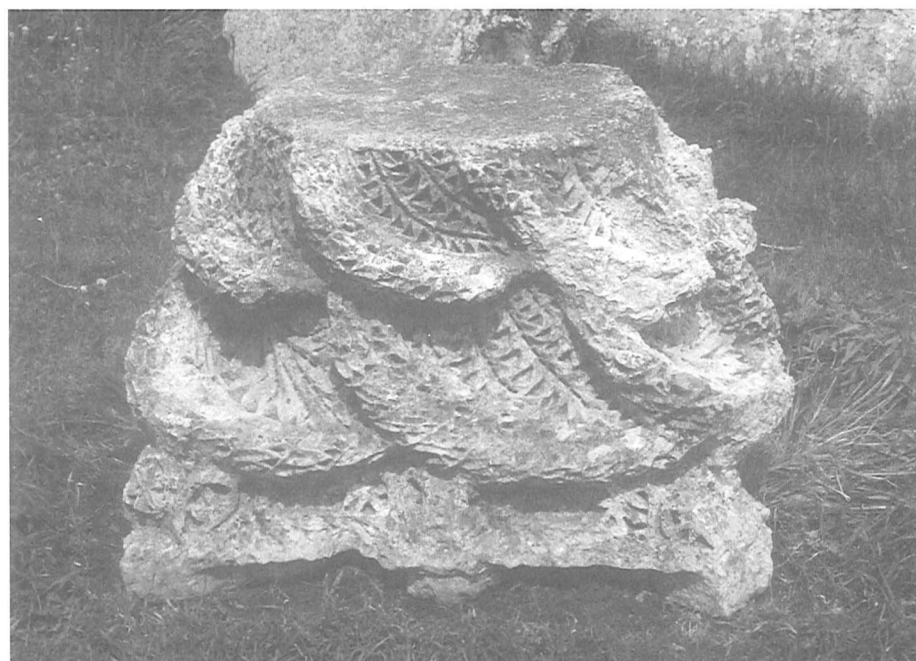
Fig. 2. Baqirha, eastern church. Capital of the 'wind-blown acanthus' type. Photo: Jens Fleischer.

Fig. 3. Damascus, courtyard of Umayyad mosque. Reused capital with slightly moved acanthus leaves. Photo: Jens Fleischer.
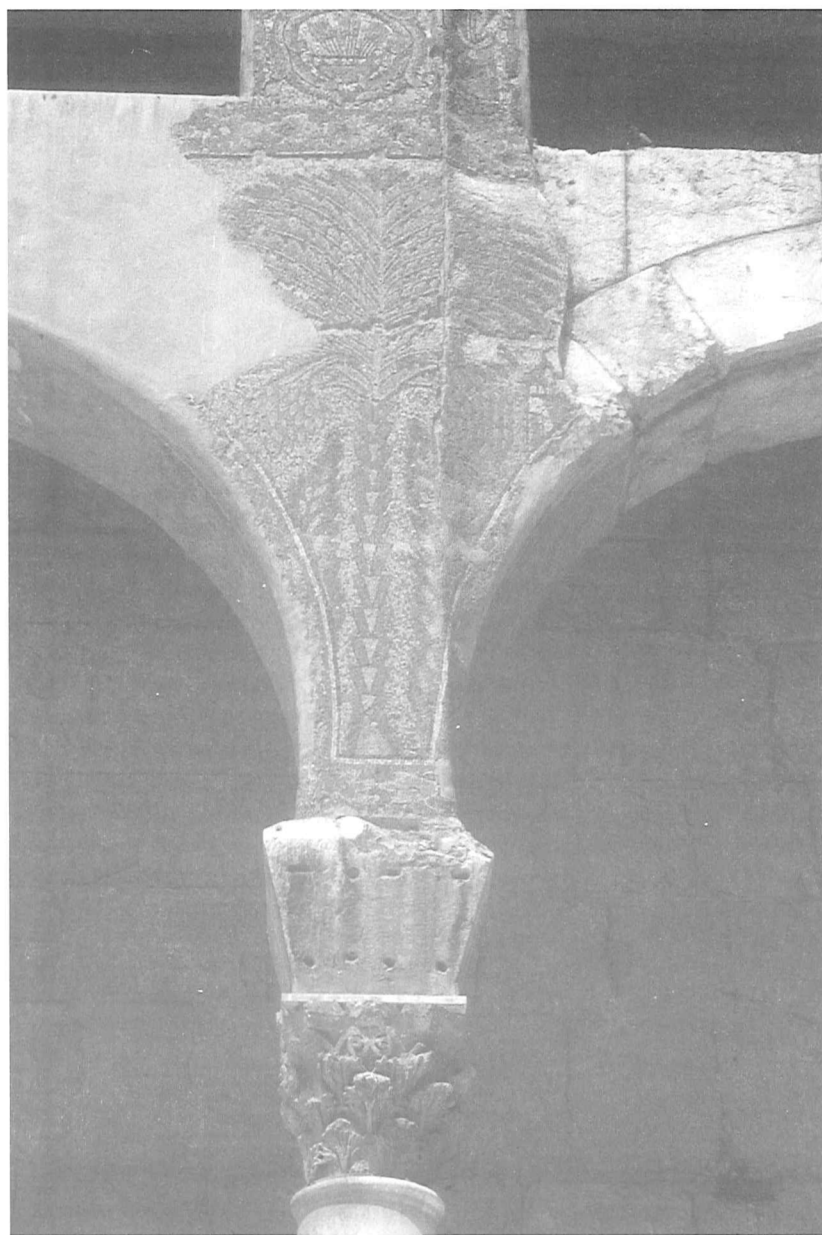
Fig. 4. Damascus, courtyard of Umayyad mosque, arcaded area. Fragment of a landscape with a tree in mosaic. Photo: Jens Fleischer.

Fig. 5. Istanbul, The Archaeological Museum. Trunk of a palm tree, drawing: Gustave Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures* (Constantinople: Musées Impériaux Ottomans, 1914), cat. no. 1247.
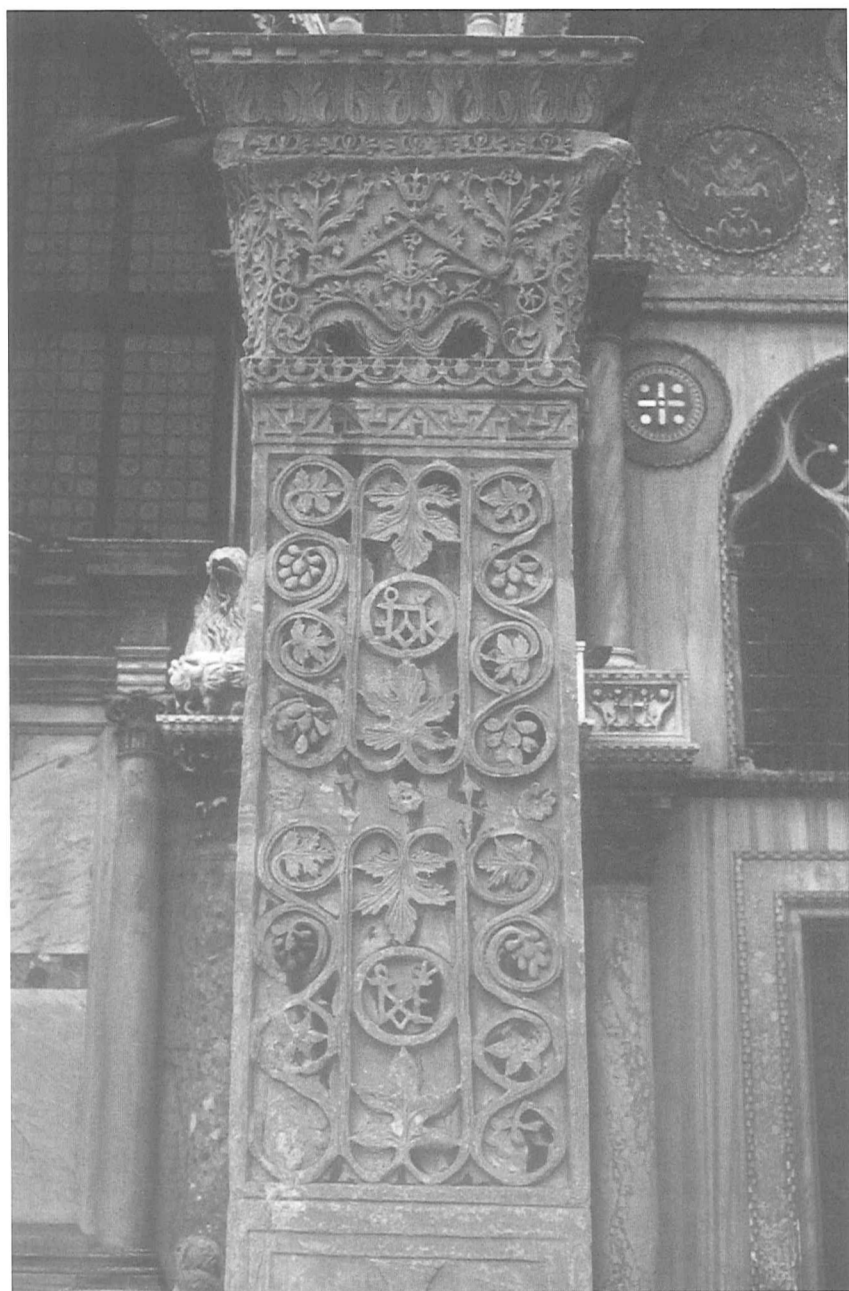
Fig. 6. Venice, Piazza S. Marco, Pilastri Acritani. Photo: Jens Fleischer.

Cultic Vision—Seeing as Ritual: Visual and Liturgical Experience in the Early Christian and Medieval Church

HANS HENRIK LOHFERT JØRGENSEN

Ritual as Visuality

U nderstood as a frame for encountering and experiencing the sacred, ritual was an integral part of the visual culture of Early Christian times and the Middle Ages. As such, ritual was central both in giving shape to the cultic images of various media, in conditioning the visual relations of the ritual and performative space, and in shaping the Christian's mental image of God and the sacred. Looking at ritual is relevant also in relation to the more specific and critical sense of the term 'visual culture', including the underlying ideology/-ies of vision, the social implications of a culture's preferred technologies of sight, the cognitive and epistemological framework of seeing, and the entire cultural structuring of the act of viewing. Thus, the appearance of ritual, historically construed and continuously modified, is an important clue to our understanding of the changing history of Christian visuality and of what was really going on when the Early Christian or medieval subject was looking at something. The principal assumption of this paper is precisely that a consideration of ritual in its changing appearances can contribute to a (re)construction of the history of sight and vision of the Early Christian and medieval period. More specifically the Latin West, represented especially by Rome, will be the focus of the following account.

In a scholarly discourse concerned with looking at the sacred, Christian ritual can be seen as a kind of idealized formalization or even ritualization of viewing, that is, a

ritual enactment of the very act of seeing the sacred and its impact on the viewer in sacralizing his vision. An essentially visual conception of ritual seems to have been developed and increasingly promoted during the Middle Ages, partaking both in the ritual's underlying construction of the sacred and in the resulting modification of the recipient's perceptual and psychological approach to religious ceremonies. In other words, this implies shifting the focus from the ritual action of the cult and the liturgy to the *reception* of church ritual by the Christian viewer. This way of seeing ritual relates closely to the historical reception of church architecture, the sacred space in which ritual took place, and which in part shaped the ritual, just as it was itself shaped by ritual. Deeply intertwined, ritual, architecture, and the reception of the sacred in either of the two underwent significant parallel changes during the period from the fourth to the ninth century, which shall primarily be considered in the following.

Processional Space and Seeing

Church architecture and the organization of the cultic space in fact tells us very much about how the historical spectator orientated himself visually and about how and what he expected to see. A particular relationship between ritual, space, and vision seems from early on to have structured the Christian cult building. The open, all-embracing character of the airy, clearly lit space of the Early Christian basilica invited everybody in—into the Church of universal pretentions—and stimulated visual and processional movement along its marching rows of columns in its long nave and spacious aisles with ample room for everyone to march along on the new way to salvation. The spatial organization of wide expansion and visual openness thus corresponded to the peripatetic character and the public, or at least quite comprehensive, scope of the liturgy in the early Church from the time of Constantine in the fourth century onwards. As observed by Margaret Miles, the communal appeal of the recently triumphant Constantinian Church was communicated through the visual appeal of its splendid architecture, art, and liturgy, not least the monumental and comprehensive processions.[1] Correspondingly, the sanctuary often projected into the nave towards the congregation situated in the aisles and in parts of the nave, thereby placing the altar in a central position between the faithful and the clergy in the presbytery proper in the apse. The liturgical space used to be differentiated functionally and hierarchically only by low chancel rails, described for the first time by Eusebius of Caesarea in his panegyric of bishop Paulinus's building for the cathedral of Tyre, consecrated *c.* 315.[2] According to Eusebius, these minor barriers

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[1] Cf. Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), pp. 48–55. Miles's concepts of inclusivity versus exclusivity will be used here and there in the following without further reference.

[2] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, X, iv, 44; trans. by J. E. L. Oulton, 2 vols (London:

were to reserve a place for the altar sequestered from the surrounding crowd while at the same time attracting the multitude through the mere sight of the marvellous spectacle of their exquisite adornment.

In some of the crowded basilicas, such *cancellus* screens or parapets extended further into the nave in a processional passageway or *solea*, known archaeologically in the West from, for example, Roman, Milanese, and Iberian churches. Normally none of these somewhat unsubstantial spatial divisions (in Tyre actually just wooden fences) prevented the faithful from looking into the sacred area of the sanctuary, but rather encoded their visual perception of the ritual space and directed the visitor's gaze to travel along the accentuated liturgical axis, through the ceremonial corridor of the nave towards the altar at the end of the *via sacra*. In the exceptional case of the Lateran basilica in Rome, the *solea* possibly even culminated in a triumphant portal into the sanctuary constituted by the Constantinian (or later) *fastigium*, an embellished pediment supported by four great columns, which would have enframed the sight of the altar and lead the travelling gaze towards the goal of its visual journey (Fig. 1.).[3] This type of glorification frontispiece was known by the public as a façade element of imperial palace architecture under which the emperor would reveal himself in the focal point, attracting the gaze of onlookers—as would the Roman bishop in his cathedral when he approached the altar, and hence the *fastigium*, from his *cathedra*, or entered the sanctuary via the *solea* to take the ceremonial place of Christ, enframed and glorified by the monumental central opening of the *porta regia*.[4] In the old Roman mass this spatial and visual order was implemented liturgically by its most spectacular ceremony, the pompous pontifical entrance procession adorned by solemn chanting, incense, and a number of imposing visual attributes as described in the first of the so-called *Ordines Romani,* a ceremonial book of the stational service of the seventh century (compiled *c.* 800, but generally acknowledged to reflect much earlier use).[5] In the oblong space of the

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Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926–32), II (1932; repr. 1980), p. 426.

[3] Cf. the hypothetical reconstruction of Sible de Blaauw, 'Das Fastigium der Lateranbasilika: Schöpferische Innovation, Unikat oder Paradigma?', in *Innovation in der Spätantike, Kolloquium Basel 6.–7. Mai 1994,* ed. by Beat Brenk (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1996), pp. 53–65; Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor, Liturgia e Architettura nella Roma Tardoantica e Medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri,* 2 vols (Delft: Eburon, 1987; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), I, pp. 117–29, 141– 42; II, fig. 1–4.

[4] Cf. Andreas Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), pp. 250–51; Ejnar Dyggve, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum: La basilica ipetrale per cerimonie: Studii sull' architettura dei palazzi della tarda antichità* (København: Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1941), pp. 38–39.

[5] *Ordo Romanus primus,* ed. by Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen-âge,*

longitudinal basilican plan, seeing and perception were, so to speak, organized processionally: a dynamic perspective of moving images and ritual sensations implying at once direction and motion, visually as well as physically. The earthly beholder's orientated and directed gaze can perhaps itself be described as a kind of 'optical procession', always in the process of moving towards a higher, sacred goal, whether the altar of God or, ultimately, the spiritual vision of God himself.

This visual interpretation of spiritual striving and progression seems to have been characteristic of the moved Christian worshipper, whose particular way of seeing and looking towards the sacred was the internal dynamic that really structured and sacralized the basilican space. The visual perspective from the main entrance to the altar, projecting and foreshadowing the axis of physical movement, appears to have been an a priori condition of the spatial structure, thus making the basilica the material shell around the ritual and optical axis, a materialization of the 'optics of procession'. Fundamentally it was the Christian's directional sense of space, and hence the Christian gaze, that ritualized a multifunctional and polyvalent pagan building type otherwise used for social, legal, or commercial purposes. As noted by George Forsyth, 'the average [pagan] basilica did not have an emphatic longitudinal and processional character. It often lay along the flank of a forum and was entered from the side, and its aisles were apt to surround the entire interior in such a way as to produce a concentric effect.'[6] The Christian eye, on the other hand, was a committed idealist rather than a mundane flaneur, and was not meant to wander aimlessly about in concentric circles of visual luxury, but to proceed and use the sense impressions to direct itself towards higher purposes (i.e. an anagogical reception).[7] If the prefigured gaze of the ideal viewer structured the ritual building

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II, *Les textes* (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1948, 1960). Cf. Thomas F. Mathews, 'An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and Its Liturgical Functions', in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 38 (1962), 73–95.

[6] George H. Forsyth, 'The Transept of Old St. Peter's at Rome', in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. by Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 56–70 (p. 68). Cf. Mathews, 'An early Roman Chancel Arrangement', pp. 82–83, who concludes: 'Certainly the longitudinal character of the Christian basilica was one of its most original ideas.' This is not to say that directional space and processions were not a feature of Roman Antiquity, though here often situated in open, outdoor environments.

[7] This determined and purposeful character of vision is reflected not just in Christian optics (to be considered shortly), but also in ethical and religious precepts regarding seeing, such as those found in for instance Leander of Seville's *De institutione virginum et contemptu mundi* from around 580; *Santos Padres Españoles*, ed. by Vicente Blanco García, Julio Campos Ruiz, and Ismael Roca Melia, 2 vols (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Editorial Católica, 1971), II, 28, 30–34. In this so-called 'Regula Sancti Leandri' those who want to lead a spiritual life are warned against the worldly desire of the 'oculus libidinosus' and the 'concupiscentia oculorum' (cf. I John 2. 16). They are requested to turn their eyes away from the false appearances of this world and not to look at empty vanity. Instead they should look

and focused the Christian space, then, conversely, the real viewer when gazing through the focused building was able to learn from it how to fix the eyes at the sacred—to see ritually, so to speak. The church building acted as a sort of *hagioscope* on a monumental scale: as a device for making the beholder see the sacred, typically the altar, in an idealized mode of vision, which may be termed hagiography ('hagios', holy, and 'skopein', to see).[8] Regarded as a material manifestation of the processional sense of space and of the ritual world view, to which it corresponded, the building would have aimed to cultivate a hagioscopic gaze culminating in the cultic vision of the consecrated sacrament on the altar, and the sacred images pointing towards it. Moreover, the impulse to ritualize seeing expressed itself in a structural use of the procession scheme in Early Christian art, organized visually—as observed by Thomas Mathews—in pictorial programmes following the principle of convergence towards a single goal: a central image at the axis, usually Christ himself, surrounded by approaching apostles or saints as the centre of the Church and its ceremonial program.[9] Closely integrated with architectural features, hierarchical ranks of proceeding figures and sequential rows of representative images would be arranged so as to lead the eye of the beholder towards the theophany of the apse mosaic and the altar below, i.e. the centre of Christ's ritual presence towards which the liturgy and the cultic gazes converged. Thus, when projecting their ambulant glances at the solemn concourse of defiling figures and sacred personages, the viewers were compelled to move through the ritual space themselves.[10] In images and architecture as well as in ceremonial, the processional mode, by virtue of its hieratic confluence towards a centre of cultic attention, trained the eye to focus and centralize its visual energy into a ritual mode

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towards heaven and direct their interior sight or 'oculus mentis' towards the celestial Bridegroom and the heavenly choirs of virgins (perhaps not unlike the choirs of the earthly liturgy in the ritual space of the church).

[8] A hagioscope, or squint, is normally understood to be a hole in a church wall allowing a view of the altar. In the present context, I employ the term in a more general sense: the actual act of looking at the sacred, which implies a visual discourse or ideology of religious seeing, including cultic vision. Cf. Hans Henrik L. Jørgensen, '*Velatio* and *Revelatio*: Hagioscopic Vision in Early Medieval Architecture on the Iberian Peninsula', in *The Enduring Instant: Time and the Spectator in the Visual Arts/Der Bleibende Augenblick, Betrachterzeit in den Bildkünsten,* ed. by Antoinette Roesler-Friedenthal and Johannes Nathan (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2003), pp. 177–91.

[9] Cf. Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 150–76, for a re-evaluation of the role of processions in the perception of the world and the visual arts of early Christianity.

[10] A conspicuous example is S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (*c.* 494–526 and 557–70), where the saintly processions pictured in the mosaics above the marching arcades composing the nave would have mirrored the liturgical processions attended by the actual congregation.

of vision, that is, a hagioscopic gaze, seeking the sacred in a spiritual movement converging on Christ.

Optics of Contact and Distance

No less moving was the process of the mass itself in the early Church. The entire congregation of initiate Christians—comprising all the baptized, including the laity—participated actively in the great all-encompassing processions of the communion, the offertory, and in some rites even the entrance into the church from the atrium. Such ceremonial practices required physical and ritual activity of the faithful, involving them and engaging their bodies and spirits in the liturgical action. The congregation's own gifts of bread and wine were consecrated at the altar in full view of the participants, congregation and clergy alike. Church rituals of the Early Christian period involved all the senses of the active recipient in a direct contact with the sacred: Like Christ, he was immersed in and felt the water, he touched the sacramental offerings and tasted the sacrament himself, he heard and sang antiphons, he smelled the incense used to sanctify the processional space (as in *Ordo Romanus primus*), and he saw the whole action from the points of view of both the spectator and the participant. Nearly constantly on the move between sanctuary, nave, baptistery, atrium, solea, ambo, cathedra, and altar, the sensuous liturgy may well have seemed a performative enactment of the Christian sense of the world. Nevertheless, the performance of the mass still included the faithful in performing roles rather than just presenting itself to them as a holy spectacle, to be gazed at and listened to from the distance by an excluded recipient. Vision and hearing, the senses that imply an 'untouchable' distance between the recipient and the object—e.g. the viewer and the sacred—had not yet been singled out as the privileged channels for experiencing the ritual and for performing the cult.

   Indeed, to look at something was understood to be, in some way, equivalent to making physical contact with the sense object—touching the sensed body by the visual rays emitted from the viewer's eye. In the different optical theories of Antiquity formulated by atomists, Stoics, and Plato among others, touching and seeing were not as distinct and isolated from one another as is the case in modern optics.[11] The modern understanding of vision is epistemologically determined by a more consequent (but less sensitive) distinction between the senses of contact and the senses of distance. To the early Christian and medieval recipient, on the other hand, the perceptual acts of seeing and touching were closely interrelated, up to a point where vision was conceived and explained as an optical analogy to a contact stimulus. Augustine (354–430), heir to the ray theory of Platonic and other antique optics, expressed this tangible quality of vision quite clearly when, in *De trinitate*, he

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[11] Cf. David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 2–11.

stated that the visual rays projected by the corporeal eyes touch whatever body they make us see: 'We see bodies through the eyes of the body, because [...] the rays shine forth through those eyes and touch whatever we discern.'[12] In this model of corporeal vision, where the bodily eyes see other bodies, there is a direct physical (and ontological) relationship between the viewer and the viewed. Rather than passively waiting to receive alien impulses from a distant world, the eye makes vision its own property by actively participating in the visual process, reaching out to apprehend its object. In the so-called extramission or emission theory of vision, the optical rays emitted from the eye establish a physical intermediary between the visible object and the viewer, a continuous connection of the two poles of the visual encounter. According to this view—not least in its focused Augustinian variant—vision occurs when rays shoot forth from the eye of the observer to the observed object, projected in a straight line from the active viewer as a beam of faint light.[13]

Margaret Miles argues that this understanding of physical vision also served Augustine as a model for spiritual seeing, the *acies mentis* or 'eye of the mind' being enlightened by the same qualities of converging concentration, focused attention, and longing for contact with its object—the divine vision itself.[14] For the attentive liturgical spectator, the act of ritual seeing would belong somewhere in between these two modes of vision, mediating between them by elevating the visual contact with the sacred to a spiritual experience of the true meaning behind the sensible appearance of the liturgy. Cultic vision was in touch with the sacred both in a spiritual way and in the quasi-material way of corporeal vision, both of which would enhance the beholder's participative involvement in the cult. Following the Augustinian conception of seeing as an active and reciprocal attachment of the soul of the viewer to the perceived body, ritual seeing would have been both to touch visually and be touched spiritually.[15] It implied some sort of contact with the ritual

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[12] Augustine, *De trinitate*, IX, 3, 3; *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post–Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, first series, III, ed. by Philip Schaff (Edinburgh: Clark/Michigan: Eerdmans, 1998), p. 127; *La Trinité, Oeuvres de Saint Augustin 16*, ed. by P. Agaësse and J. Moingt (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1955), p. 80: 'Per oculos enim corporis corpora videmus, quia radios qui per eos emicant et quidquid cernimus tangunt [...]'. Cf. *De trinitate*, IX, 6, 11; *La Trinité*, p. 96: 'Ista vero aut praesentia sensu corporis tangimus.'

[13] Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, I, 16, 31; *The Literal Meaning of Genesis,* trans. by John Hammond Taylor (New York: Newman, 1982), I, 37–38; PL 34, col. 258: 'Iactus enim radiorum ex oculis nostris, cuiusdam lucis quidem est iactus; et contrahi potest, cum aerem, qui est oculis nostris proximus, intuemur; et emitti, cum ad eamdem rectitudinem, quae sunt longe posita attendimus. [...] in ea obtutus emittitur.' This influential passage was later cited and discussed by medieval opticians such as John Pecham and Albertus Magnus. Cf. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision,* pp. 90, 247, n. 21.

[14] Cf. Margaret Miles, 'Vision: The Eye of the Body and the Eye of the Mind in Saint Augustine's *De trinitate* and *Confessions*', in *Journal of Religion*, 63.2 (1983), 125–42.

[15] Ibid. pp. 127–28. Cf. Augustine, *De trinitate*, X, 5, 7 and 6, 8; XI, 2, 2–3 and 5 (*La*

objects, and looking at them supplemented, rather than substituted, the tangible access to the sacred during mass. This intimate continuity of the viewer and the viewed mediated by the power of vision also manifested itself in the magical beliefs, found in both antique and Christian cultures, in the powers of looking and in the healing or sanctifying effects that looking at the good and sacred were thought to have on the viewer—as tersely expressed by Anton Mayer: 'Der Anblick des Heiligen heilt.'[16] Seeing the sacred was not just a passive and unaffected reception tempered by an insurmountable distance, but a mutual and powerful engagement with the sacred, the beholder issuing the visual rays to move towards their holy goal in order to receive a share of the holiness himself. The focused character of the cultic space reflected not only the processional movement of the participant's body, but also the effluence of visual energy and optical activity directed from the spectator's eye towards the sacred.

Determined perhaps as much by the general relationship between the viewer and the visible world as by the authority of Augustine, the notion of energized rays of light emitted from the focusing eye remained the prevailing optical doctrine during most of the Middle Ages up to the thirteenth century. The developing appearance of church architecture can be seen as a parallel to this: it retained and elaborated its hagioscopic organization, actually intensifying the optical character of the sacred space in a long and enriching development of the basilica within the areas of the Latin liturgies in the West. Various types and variants of the basilica introduced in the Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque, and Gothic building styles in spite of their architectural differences all had such basic features in common as the axial orientation, the directional focus, and the spatial convergence towards the sanctuary and the high altar. Indeed, the vaulted aisles and exaggerated lengthy naves of many Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals grew even more telescopic in character, like ray-shaped optical canals for the visual rays stretching between the viewer in the west and the focal point of the sacred altar in the east. In the cathedral of Speyer (c. 1030–61 and later), to mention just one of many examples, the beam-like rays of the ideal visual perspective seem nearly tangibly present, as if materialized in the condensed space of the huge, but massive, long nave which itself appears to be issuing the prefigured gaze towards the raised platform of the chancel. The gaze itself seems to have condensed in the ritual space and become nearly 'touchable', sanctified by its transmission of holiness to the liturgical spectator in a firmly directed beam of visual grace or presence.

In the Middle Ages, hagioscopic vision thus appears to have at the same time intensified and become more mystical. Ritual seeing came to substitute, rather than

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Trinité, pp. 136, 162–68, 170–74).

[16] Anton L. Mayer, 'Die heilbringende Schau in Sitte und Kult', in *Heilige Überlieferung: Ausschnitte aus der Geschichte des Mönchtums und des Heiligen Kultes, dem hochwürdigsten Herrn Abte von Maria Laach dr. theol. et iur. h. c. Ildefons Herwegen zum silbernen Abts-jubiläum*, ed. by O. Casel (Münster: Aschendorff, 1938), pp. 234–62 (p. 236).

supplement, ritual participation and access to the sacred. A mystical tension arose between the longing for proximity and contact to the sacred on one hand and the awe of the distant and untouchable holy of holies, the secluded inner sanctum of divine presence, on the other. Necessarily placed in a position far back in the immense church at Speyer, down between the heavy serene walls of the nave, the lay beholder did not have direct access to the distant sanctuary, which was elevated and cut off from the nave by the raised transept above the large crypt. Paradoxically, this spatial tension or hindrance seems to be the very reason for the intensity of the visual relations, the gaze canalized towards the cultic centre of attention trying to overcome the sequestering distance in a purely visual way, where seeing the sacred takes the place of touching it. Hence, while continuing the basic hagioscopic framework introduced by early Christianity, the predetermined visuality of sacred architecture also shows symptoms of an historical change in ritual perception during the medieval period. In the sensible approach to ritual, vision and touch no longer coexisted harmoniously, but appear to have been separated functionally in the sense that touching and being near the sacred became a privilege of the clergy, while ritual seeing and gazing from the distance was the only option of the laity. During the early Middle Ages, active lay participation in the mass decreased steadily; the comprehensive offertory procession of the entire congregation soon vanished in all rites but the Roman, and lay communion was confined to the liturgical feasts from the seventh century or earlier in some places. The inclusive and communal character of the early celebration of mass gave way to the seclusion of the sacred, first of all the consecrated sacrament, and the exclusivity of access to it. Ritual underwent a mystification, being presented as a visionary, but distant tableau by the initiate actors on their elevated stage, that is, the clergy around the altar, to the now relatively static and immobile audience, the 'populus' in the nave. At the end of this development, the mass had, as Josef Jungmann remarks,[17] become an epiphany, a 'geheimnisvolles Schauspiel'—i.e. a glorious, but somewhat unreal, visual image to adore and look at in awe and devotion. As the physical involvement of the congregation decreased, the metaphysical implications of the awe-inspiring and secretive liturgical spectacle had to be received in other ways. In a way, it was the increased distance and the reserved access that cultivated an ever more ardent *Schauverlangen*, or desire to see the sacred,[18] seemingly causing vision to assimilate the intensity of touching while at the same time maintaining an untouchable distance to its holy object (as at Speyer). Especially, the notion arose that gazing devoutly at the consecrated sacrament could somehow replace actually receiving it, the visual reception of the Eucharist thus compensating for the corporeal reception itself and emulating some of its perceptual and spiritual qualities. In this so-called spiritual communion, the *manducatio per*

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[17] Cf. Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia, Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols (Wien: Herder, 1949), I, 149.

[18] Ibid. p. 150. Cf. Mayer, 'Die heilbringende Schau in Sitte und Kult'.

visum was to become a parallel (if, surely, a much-discussed one) to the real sacramental *manducatio per gustum*, in other words, a visual analogy to the physical 'unio cum corpore mystico', or corporeal union with the sacred.[19]

Mystical Vision and Veiling the Sacred

The medieval mystification of cultic vision and the tension on which it was based is strongly reflected in sacred architecture of especially the early Middle Ages, determined by an ambiguous interaction between spatial proximity and distance, physical access and hindrance, visual presence and absence. Withholding the sacred, not only from the hands, but also from the eyes of the faithful, became as ritually significant and spiritually meaningful as displaying it. While the spectacle of sacred acts, gestures, chants, and readings was giving ceremonial priority to vision and hearing over other senses, silence and invisibility paradoxically made their way into the liturgy at central points. The control of what could be seen and heard was a ritual device, serving not just to protect the sacred secrets, but also to construct the sacred as such. Ancient practices were behind the visual aspect of the practice and construction of the idea of *arcanum*—that is, the secrecy, concealment, and discipline protecting the deepest mysteries and sacraments of faith (from 'arca', a shut chest or ark). Eusebius of Caesarea, while himself stressing the comprehensive visual appeal of the material church building he so suggestively envisions, also pictures the living temple formed out of the faithful as converging upon an arcane shrine or ark of unseen enigmas:

> [...] I mean the greatest sanctuary and truly reverend, whose innermost shrine may not be seen by the common eye, for verily holy it is and a Holy of Holies—who that viewed it would dare to describe? Who is able even to peer into the temple buildings that surround it, save only the great High Priest of the universe, to whom alone it is permitted to search the hidden mysteries of every rational soul?[20]

This is an illuminating and yet obscure architectural metaphor—at the same time very visible and advocating a holy terror of the hidden and invisible in which the element of restriction and distance contributes to the sense of mystery. Eusebius seems inspired by Old Testament Jewish practice and by the temple of Solomon, alluded to elsewhere by him, which was, of course, also to be a primary reference for

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[19] Cf. Édouard Dumoutet, *Le Désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au saint-sacrement* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1926), concluding: 'On peut dire que le parallèle entre la 'visio' et la 'manducatio' de l'hostie était un lieu commun de la scolastique du XIIIe siècle' (p. 21).

[20] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, X, iv, 22; trans. by J. E. L. Oulton, II, 411. In accordance with this Eusebius describes the entire complex at Tyre as a series of enclosures, the innermost of which is the one around the altar.

medieval church building. In the occult conception of the unapproachable inner *sancta sanctorum*, the sacred mysteries are identified by the distinction between being seen and not being seen—i.e. what is received, and by whom. The passage and what follows imply a ritual hierarchy between the uninitiated commons not permitted to see and the privileged of priestly status allowed mystical vision—even if the visual access to the mysterious shrine may still be restricted to enigmatic glimpses surpassing description, and be dependent on the tension between visibility and invisibility.

Eusebius's obscure vision of an arcane innermost sanctuary harbouring the unspeakable and indescribable was a literary structure, that contrasted, however, with the clearsighted contemporary church architecture of the early fourth century and its open visual and spatial structure. Nevertheless, during the following centuries the distancing tension began to manifest itself in the Christian organization of the cultic space, not merely in the East, but also in the Latin West. A concrete example, Old St Peter's at Rome, will allow us to follow the development from spatial inclusivity and openness to visual exclusivity and reservation, and see it in relation to the parallel changes of liturgy and ritual. The very raison d'être of the spacious fourth-century basilica in the Vatican necropolis was to render the apostle's shrine visible and accessible to the populous flow of pilgrims, streaming towards the funeral *memoria* in the apse through the processional church and the ample transept, which was common ground for the congregation and the clergy. A canopy above the tomb attracted visitors to the sacred locus and focused their sight of it, enframing it by a low railing between columns supporting an architrave, so that it stretched out towards the transept to welcome the worshippers visually and spatially. By the middle of the fifth century, this arrangement was interpreted as a curtained screen across the apse opening, potentially closing the architrave-spanned side openings into the apse—as can be seen in an ivory carving on the so-called Pola casket, generally accepted to be an early representation of St Peter's.[21] But in spite of the veiling of the space behind, the front railing still admitted visual and physical access to the shrine itself, and thus permitted a characteristic ritual of controlled approach: the ritual of contact with the sacred mediated by a distance, recorded by Gregory of Tours late in the sixth century. According to Gregory, when someone wished to pray, the *cancelli* into the shrine were unlocked, in a first ceremonial step of the gradual access to the saint. Then a little window (*fenestella*) was opened allowing the devotee to look into the dark shaft of the tomb and lower a piece of cloth called *brandea*—a type of contact relic—to be sanctified by the grave below, which he

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[21] Cf. Jocelyn Toynbee & John Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London/New York/Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1956), pp. 201–05, fig. 20–21. Another representation on this ivory reliquary of the mid-fifth century, found at Samagher near Pola in Istria, shows the shrine of a different martyr, similarly screened off from the approaching worshippers by arches, curtains and lattice doors.

could not actually touch himself.[22] The pilgrim, though allowed to get close, was submitted to what Peter Brown has termed a 'therapy of distance': a carefully maintained tension between proximity and distance, between access and hindrance, stimulating a yearning for intimacy and closeness to the sacred, but at the same time keeping the beholder in a subtle condition of mystical suspense.[23]

This 'suspense strategy' also manifested itself in a tendency to move the altar of the Eucharist further back in the churches and, hence, further away from the congregation in the nave. In St Peter's, the placement of the original *mensa*, which was probably just a portable altar, has been an issue of much debate.[24] But in any case it had found its venerable place, in the reserved and holy space screened by the canopy of the apostle's shrine, at the latest in the sixth century, the holiness of altar and shrine thus converging to reinforce and shield one another mutually. This shielding and screening of the sacred—altar and relics alike—was soon to be monumentalized in a thorough reorganization of the whole sanctuary, undertaken probably during the pontificate of Gregory the Great (590–604), who, in the words of the *Liber pontificalis*, 'made it possible to celebrate mass over the body of St Peter'.[25] This implied sacralizing the mass and its altar by the presence of the holy shrine below, as well as ritualizing the grave and its cult by the presence of the eucharistic altar above: *Corpus Christi* and *Corpus Petri* were unified, both ritually and architecturally, in order to sacralize their convergent presence as one unrivalled ceremonial focus, indicative of a new religious and aesthetic sensibility. That such changes represent a changing relationship between the cultic focus and the faithful is suggested by the fact that the need for a better separation between celebrant and congregation or a more worthy distinction between clergy and people during mass was recorded as a motive of later architectural modifications in other Roman churches following similar models.[26]

In St Peter's, the new liturgical requirements caused the floor-level of the apse to be raised and the high altar to be placed on the elevated sanctuary platform

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[22] Ibid. pp. 212–13. Cf. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, XXVIII; PL 71, cols 728–29.

[23] Cf. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints, Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 87–88.

[24] Cf. de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, II, 479–84; Forsyth, 'The Transept', pp. 61–63, esp. n. 13; Toynbee & Ward-Perkins, pp. 208, 213–15.

[25] *Liber pontificalis* LXVI, iv; *Le Liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. by L. Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris: Thorin/de Boccard, 1886–1957), I, 312. Cf. Toynbee & Ward-Perkins, p. 220, and, for the reconstruction of the Gregorian sanctuary, pp. 216–19, fig. 22.

[26] Cf. Franz Alto Bauer, 'The Liturgical Arrangement of Early Medieval Roman Church Buildings', in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Historical Studies*, 59 (2000), 101–28, quoting the relevant *vitae* of the *Liber pontificalis* concerning the architectural transformations of Sta Maria Maggiore and Sta Maria in Trastevere undertaken by popes Paschal I (817–24) and Gregory IV (827–44) respectively.

immediately above the shrine, with a *ciborium* marking the sacred site and covering the altar (Fig. 2.). At the same time, the open Constantinian shrine was enclosed in the so-called covered *confessio* below the raised platform, an annular crypt with a semicircular ambulatory and an axial passage leading to a *confessio* altar at the back of the shrine. Now only visible through a little and confined grille opening below the high altar and its podium, the distant shrine had become less accessible and public in character. The narrow sunken corridor of the underground *confessio* controlled visitors and allowed them to pass by, only a few at a time, providing a secretive experience of cavernous obscurity and labyrinthine mystery as the culmination of their pilgrimage and procession towards the holy tomb. The approach of the pilgrims, formerly an inclusive gathering of the masses at the inviting shrine, had been made into an exclusive ritual quest in the dark, where those that wished were still allowed in, but were submitted to new ideals of reception of the sacred. During the seventh to tenth centuries, this architectural arrangement became a model for many other crypts in Roman or Western churches, thus suggesting that catching a mystical glimpse in the innermost darkness of the buried shrine was a highly appealing and significant experience to early medieval people. Stimulating a spiritual internalization of external physical sight, a meditative introversion into the eye of the mind, this obscure and clouded way of seeing was also a pattern of contemplation and introspective vision. In his *Moralia in Iob*, the contemplative pope Gregory describes and indulges in such mystical sight through the veil of clouded darkness, 'quasi per caliginem' or in a 'nocturna visio'—seeing some of the inner secrets of the faith as in a nightly vision, precisely like he would have done when he prayed in the interior obscurity of his new crypt.[27]

When Gregory or one of his successors in *cathedra Petri* celebrated mass at the elevated high altar on the raised presbytery platform, on the other hand, he would have become an image of 'the great High Priest' administering the Holy of Holies: distant and unapproachable to the congregation, the pontiff's position was behind or under the ciborium, with the sanctuary front and stairs ahead, and the whole protected by a new transverse choir screen composed by an architrave and six spiral columns taken from the dismantled Constantinian screen. In the eighth century this *pergula* was even doubled by another row of columns in a second, outer screen increasing the distance and doubling the seclusion of the sacred area. Embellished with silver icons and images, lights and curtains, the 'liturgical façade' constituted by these choir screens presented itself as a glimmering vision, and contributed to substituting the lay recipient's sight of the liturgical spectacle for his access to the cultic centre. Directly behind this arrangement, an extension of the raised altar

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[27] For example, Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, VIII, 30, 50; PL 75, col. 833: '[...] in dulcedinem supernae contemplationis rapitur, iamque de intimis aliquid quasi per caliginem conspicit'; *Moralia*, XXXI, 51, 101; PL 76, cols 628–29; *Moralia*, V, 30, 53; PL 75, col. 708. Cf. Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism, The Teaching of SS. Augustine, Gregory and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life* (London: Constable, 1922, 1926), pp. 88–89.

platform, recently attributed to Pope Leo III (795–816), made the front of the podium itself appear as a kind of transverse screen, or even wall, with only lateral stairs instead of the earlier, possibly frontal ones, thus reducing the accessibility of the podium once again and making the altar become 'even more remote'.[28] The sealing of the sacred appears to have been gradually increasing, adding layer upon layer of what was both visual enrichment and screening or veiling devices, that would obscure and mystify what went on in awesome secrecy at the altar. Compared to the low *cancellus* barriers, that previously used to demarcate the sanctuary of a Christian space of worship, or to the high portal-like Lateran *fastigium*, whose large *intercolumnia* opened towards the nave of the church, the medieval *pergula* seems to have assumed a new function. With the *fastigium*, the Vatican *pergula*, the Byzantine *templon*, or Syrian and North African types of screens or sequestering walls as possible models, many choir screens appeared in Italian and other Western churches during the early Middle Ages, beginning already around 500 and culminating in the seventh to ninth centuries.[29] Frequently mentioned by the *Liber pontificalis,*[30] such screens or *pergulae*—installed for instance in Santa Maria Maggiore or San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome—would often be furnished with liturgical curtains, or *vela*, which was one of the favoured donations bestowed upon the Roman churches by a number of popes. One example—in the *vita* of Leo III— can stand for many and give an idea of a typical arrangement, in this case in S. Paolo: 'Filled with divine inspiration the aforesaid venerable pontiff made, above the altar in the basilica of the blessed apostle Paul, a ciborium with its columns [...] of the purest silver, and also a cross [...] of the purest gold, hanging in the choir screen in front of the altar, and a red curtain which hangs before the altar.'[31] For St Peter's,

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[28] Bauer, 'The Liturgical Arrangement of Early Medieval Roman Church Buildings', p. 113, following the reconstruction of de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor,* II, 549–51.

[29] Cf. de Blaauw, 'Das Fastigium der Lateranbasilika', pp. 62–63; P. L. Zovatto, 'La pergula paleocristiana del sacello di S. Prosdocimo di Padova', in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana,* 34 (1958), 137–58 (about early pergulas in the chapels of S. Prosdocimo in Padua and Sta Maria Mater Domini in Vicenza among others); Raffaella Farioli, '"Pergulae" paleocristiane del territorio ravennate', in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna 23–30 Settembre 1962* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1965), pp. 115–21; and for Rome in particular: Bauer, 'The Liturgical Arrangement', as well as recent articles by Federico Guidobaldi, Judson J. Emerick, and Karin Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, all in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Historical Studies,* 59 (2000).

[30] *Liber pontificalis* XCII, vii; XCVIII, xxxiv, xlix, and lviii; C, xxxi; CV, lvii; CXII, x (Duchesne, I, 417–18; II, 10, 13, and 15; 60; 120; and 194, respectively).

[31] 'Predictus vero venerabilis pontifex [...] divina inspiratione repletus, fecit in basilica beati Pauli apostoli cyburium cum columnis suis super altare [...] ex argento purissimo, necnon et crucem [...] ex auro purissimo, pendentem in pergula ante altare, atque velum rubeum qui pendet ante altare'; *Liber pontificalis* XCVIII, xlix (Duchesne, II, 13).

Sible de Blaauw has identified in the program of donations of Leo IV (847–55) ten such veils to be hung under the architrave in each of the two times five *intercolumnia* of the double *pergula*—surely a spectacular, if restrictive, double sealing off of the sanctuary.[32] Likewise the ciborium above the altar, found in both the apostolic memorial basilicas and in most other Roman churches during these centuries, could be closed off from the eyes of the faithful by means of curtains of the kind called *tetravela*, hung around the altar in the openings on the four sides of the baldachin.[33] In addition, even the transition between nave and choir could be furnished with large *cortinae* hung 'sub trabe' or 'sub arco maiore',[34] that is, under a crossbeam in the triumphal arch, making a total of three successive layers of veils screening the Holy of Holies from the congregation: in the ciborium around the altar, in the choir screen in front of the sanctuary, and across the nave in front of the transept (if there was one) and chancel. The altar itself would be covered with a precious 'vestis super altarem', a large altarcloth, constituting the innermost layer of veiling upon which converged the concentric arrangements of curtains, like circles in the water emanating from the shrouded *mysterium tremendum* of the Eucharist.

A later, still extant example of an interior combining screen and ciborium can be seen in the Romanesque S. Nicola at Bari in Apulia (begun 1089) with an arched *pergula* and an altar baldachin furnished with rings for the velum.[35] As earlier at Old St Peter's, the screen communicated the holiness of the sacred site to the pilgrims visiting the remains of the saint in the crypt below the sheltered transept. Other extant choir screens testify to the variety of screen types in the early Middle Ages, some of which did not even need curtains because their architectural arrangement as such was an obstacle to the direct visual contact between the sanctuary and the nave.[36] In fact, high chancel barriers of various kinds seem to have found widespread use in other Latin liturgical provinces besides those practising the Roman rite, including the domains of the Mozarabic, African, and Gallican liturgies.[37] After

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[32] *Liber pontificalis* CV, xiii (Duchesne, II, 109); de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor,* II, 564–65.

[33] Cf. Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols (Munich: Guenther Koch, 1924), II, 139, 141, and passim; with numerous references to series of four altar veils in the *Liber pontificalis*—e.g. more series of *tetravela* for the ciborium of St Peter's: *Liber pontificalis* LXXXVI, xi; XCVIII, xxviii and xciii (Duchesne, I, 375; II, 8 and 29).

[34] Cf. de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, II, 563.

[35] Cf. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 144.

[36] Cf. Jørgensen, '*Velatio* and *Revelatio*'; Zovatto, 'La pergula paleocristiana', p. 157, fig. 11.

[37] Cf. Helmut Schlunk, 'Die Kirche von S. Gião bei Nazaré (Portugal), Ein Beitrag zur Bedeutung der Liturgie für die Gestaltung des Kirchengebäudes', in *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 12 (1971), 205–40; Stéphane Gsell, *Les Monuments Antiques de l'Algérie*, 2 vols (Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1901), II, 169, 172, 176–77, 315–16; George H. Forsyth, *The Church of St. Martin at Angers, The Architectural History of the Site from the Roman Empire to the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 36–37, figs 158, 184, 190.

coming under the Roman mission from 596, the Anglo-Saxon church was Romanized in its customs and rite, and, according to Bede, also in the fittings of its churches, among these a whole series of interiors in Kent or Southern England with seventh-century choir screens (the one at Reculver demolished as late as 1805).[38] The spatial hierarchy implied by such architectural divisions enhanced the ritualization of the cultic space, suggesting that even the old Roman rite, usually esteemed by liturgical historians as clear and rational in its serene sobriety, had by this time acquired a more complex, mystical, and ceremonial character. Were one to accept the ethnocentric promotion of the simple purity of the Roman mass as fixed in the so-called *Gregorian Sacramentary,* with 'its freedom from all that can be called sentiment and effusiveness, or imagination, or mystery',[39] one would hardly be able to believe that this crucial missal was compiled by the same pontiff that wrote the *Moralia in Iob* and had the sanctuary of St Peter's made into a remote shelter for the altar above an obscure vault for the hidden shrine.

'For Not All See the Elevatedness of the Mysteries'

The function of the liturgical veils was presumably the ritual concealment of the *Canon,* i.e. the inner core of the mass with its most sacred complex of eucharistic prayers. According to Josef Jungmann, a change took place in the conception of the Eucharist, influenced by the Gallic liturgies and inspired especially by Isidore of Seville (*c.* 560–636). The Canon was separated ritually from the preface and the *Sanctus,* to be singled out in its holiness—the holy of holies of the ritual. Jungmann described this early medieval development of the liturgy with a relevant metaphor, envisioning the Canon as the 'innerste Heiligtum der Messe', which was 'mit einem Schleier geheimnisvoller Unzugänglichkeit umgeben [...] Eine Art neuer Arkandisziplin war damit gegeben, eine Verhüllung des Heiligen nun nicht mehr vor den Heiden, die es nicht mehr gab, sondern vor dem christlichen Volke.'[40] The arcane concept of the isolated and unapproachable Canon resulted in a 'Scheidewand zwischen Altar und Volk', that also manifested itself in the church building and the

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[38] Cf. Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press; Black, 1945, 1970), pp. 576–77; referring to Bede, *Ecclesiastical History,* I, xxix; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* ed. by Bertram Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 104. For the churches (Reculver, Lyminge, Bradwell-juxta-Mare, St Pancras at Canterbury, and Brixworth in Northamptonshire): H. M. & Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture,* 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965–78), I, 91–92, 112, 146, 409; II, 506–07; III, 793; Forsyth, *The Church of St. Martin at Angers,* fig. 159.

[39] Edmund Bishop, 'The Genius of the Roman Rite', in *Liturgica Historica, Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918; repr. 1962), p. 14.

[40] Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia,* I, 105, 104.

emergence of the choir screen.[41] Not insensitive to architecture, Jungmann even extended this parallel to his analysis of how a rubric in the *Ordo Romanus primus* allowed the Roman Canon to be reinterpreted in the same exclusive way (despite a certain opposition in the old Roman mass books):

> [...] nach der Erwähnung des Sanctusgesanges hieß [es]: *Quem dum expleverint, surgit pontifex solus et intrat in canone:* der Kanon ist das Heiligtum, das der Priester nun allein betritt. Der Heiligkeit dieses innersten Raumes, der dem Volke verschlossen bleiben muß, entspricht es, daß darin heiliges Schweigen herrscht. Der Kanon wird zum Gebet, das vom Priester leise gesprochen wird, selbst der Umgebung nicht vernehmbar.[42]

Whereas the preceding threefold *Sanctus* was sung out loud, the Canon with the words of consecration in the institution-narrative would, from the eighth century, be recited in profound silence. The auditory absence would thus have the same impact of silent secrecy on the ears of the liturgical recipient as the invisibility of the consecration behind the drawn curtains would have on his eyes and his mystified gaze. The arcanum of the sacred words, themselves not even mentioned overtly in many manuscripts of the mass, was accompanied by visual and ritual silence. In contrast to the preceding part of the mass with its visible and audible ritual and its spectacular processions, a quiet and dignified solemnity of sensible absence already characterized the Canon in the first Roman *Ordo*: 'From this point until the confraction, that is, throughout the most solemn part of the mass, all is done with the least external ceremony.'[43] 'With this the ceremonial parts of the old Roman mass are over, just as the sacrifice is about to begin.'[44] Paradoxically, ritual absence marked the moment of the greatest divine presence in the liturgy: the moment of consecration. Shrouding the institution of the sacrament from the external recipient by closing the veils of the choir screen would have been a very specific way of doing this 'with the least external ceremony'. The closed curtains in a suggestive manner visualized that the Canon had become a sanctuary, which alone the celebrant could enter, and instead they turned the gaze of the blinded onlooker inwards, making him see with the interior *acies mentis*.

All the same, such a veiling gesture is not specifically mentioned in the Ordines (at least not if the elaborate act of unfolding the *corporale*, at that time a cloth large enough to cover the altar, could not later have come to include closing the veils of the ciborium around the altar).[45] The silence of the liturgical sources on this point is

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[41] Ibid. pp. 106–07.

[42] Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, II, 126; *Ordo Romanus primus*, 88; Andrieu, p. 95. The change was corroborated by the second Roman *Ordo*, a Carolingian revision of the first: 'surgit solus pontifex et tacite intrat in canonem.'

[43] Mathews, 'An early Roman chancel arrangement', p. 89.

[44] Bishop, 'The Genius of the Roman Rite', p. 10.

[45] *Ordo Romanus primus*, 67; Andrieu, p. 90. This is merely conjectural, but should it be

a consequence, I believe, of the 'new disciplina arcani' and of the secretive ritual silence enveloping the indescribable mystery, which was solemnly enacted rather than being spoken out loud either in words or in text. Certainly the first *Ordo* leaves out in its *taciturn* treatment of the Canon, which seems to obey the reserved logic of 'say nothing—show nothing'. But nevertheless, the apparent lack of written evidence of a practice of veiling elements of the mass is considered by some to be the best argument against the existence of such a practice. Sible de Blaauw follows Joseph Braun in claiming that the silence on the subject of especially a ninth-century liturgist like Amalar of Metz indicates that the veils in the West had a decorative rather than a liturgical function.[46] Yet more than once in his writings, Amalar refers to the Canon as a secret prayer, 'into which the priest alone enters, singing it secretly'—as he says in one instance, thus paraphrasing the critical clause of the *Ordines*.[47] Conversely, one of these, the fifth *Ordo*, probably compiled by a Frankish contemporary, was itself dependent on his texts in its rubrics on, among other things, the celebrant's tacit and exclusive entry into the arcane depths of the Canon.[48] In keeping with this understanding of the mass, Amalar does in fact mention the occultation of the sacrament of the Eucharist (not in *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, but in - the *Regula canonicorum*). In the chapter about the deacons, he discusses their duties during the sacrificial part of the mass as well as their resplendent and initiate worthiness of such duties and their genealogy as descendants of the guardians of the Jewish tabernacle with its arcane *arca*. According to him, these Christian Levites enjoy the privilege—whereas the priests perform the 'consecratio sacramenti'—of veiling the mysteries at the altar, which are concealed and not seen by all (meaning the people). In preparing for the Eucharist:

> The Levites bring the oblations to the altars, the Levites arrange the table of the Lord, the Levites veil the ark of the testament [i.e. the high altar]. For not all see the elevatedness of the mysteries, which are concealed by the Levites, so that those who should not see, will not see them, and those who must not observe, will not assume them.[49]

In other words, the practice of drawing the curtains during the consecration was a specifically visual regulation, almost amounting to a conjuration against vision by

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the case, then the altar would have been veiled also during the silent prayer later significantly called the 'secret', and, harder to imagine, during the offertory.

[46] Cf. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 168–69; de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, I, 97; II, 566.

[47] Amalar, *Eclogae de officio missae* ('De *Te igitur*, cur secreto cantetur'; PL 105, col. 1326). Cf. *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, III, 23 (PL 105, col. 1136).

[48] *Ordo Romanus V*, 58; Andrieu, p. 221.

[49] 'Levitae inferunt oblationes in altaria; levitae mensam Domini componunt; levitae operiunt arcam testamenti. Non enim omnes vident alta mysteriorum quae operiuntur a levitis, ne videant qui videre non debent, et sumant qui servare non possunt.' Amalar, *Regula canonicorum*, I, vii; PL 105, col. 826.

the uninitiated. The cautious restriction suggests that the mere sight of the sacred was itself so powerful a way of reception, that it paralleled assuming ('sumant') the sacrament, or sacramental presence, by way of contact and, hence, had to be protected from spiritually unprepared lay eyes.

The passage was later to be repeated by Yves of Chartres, whereas Amalar copied it from Isidore of Seville, whose *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, written *c.* 620, had become an authoritative handbook for clerics and liturgists.[50] The old Hispanic or 'Mozarabic' liturgy, for which Isidore wrote, was closely related to the rite of ancient Gaul, and both belonged to the group of so-called Gallic liturgies, that were to influence the revision of the Roman rite and its *Ordines* during the liturgical reform of the Carolingians from the eighth to tenth centuries. In the old Iberian or Frankish version of the Canon, the paragraph containing the narrative of institution, recited in silence and behind drawn curtains, was known as *Mysterium, Secreta*, or *Missa secreta*, and was followed by another prayer known as *Post mysterium, Post secreta, Post pridie*, or occasionally even *Post missam secretam.*[51] The course of events suggested by the terms themselves is, then, that 'post' the occult mystery, the secret of divine presence was disclosed, as it necessarily had to be in order to allow the following fraction ritual and the communion, both visible to the congregation. Indeed, to the faithful, the moment of disclosure of the consecrated sacrament on the altar would have been the great revelation of the mass, the ritual moment that really made the lay spectator exactly that: a cultic seer, a profane (in the original sense) viewer of the sacred. It can be imagined that when the *velum* was drawn back, the unveiled spectacle appeared as a mystical revelation or a visionary apparition finally exposed to his yearning gaze, thus fulfilling his expectations of mass as an epiphany. At last, the blinding cloud of darkness would have been lifted from his eyes, held in distanced suspense for so long in order for them to be prepared for the sacred vision. With the curtains successively drawn and withdrawn back again during mass, the scenic moment of unveiling was singled out amidst the surrounding obscurity, and thus reserved for true seeing by the true ritual viewer.

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[50] Ivo Carnotensis, *Decretum*, VI, 10; PL 161, I, col. 446; Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, 8 (*De diaconibus*); PL 83, col. 789. In Isidore, Amalar, and Yves, the context clearly shows, that the passage in question relates to the deacons in the Christian celebration of mass and not to the Old Testament Levites, even if there is a typological allusion to these and to their veiled tabernacle (which was so emblematic and suggestive to the exegetic minds of the early Middle Ages, such as Isidore and Bede). In the first appearance of part of the passage as early as in Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, I, L, 251; ed. by R. O. Gilbert (Lipsiae, 1839), p. 101 (starting from: 'ut operias arcam testamenti'), a certain exegetic ambiguity is maintained, in which liturgical occultation in a Christian context is possible, but neither explicitly required, nor necessarily out of the question as Braun would have it (cf. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 133–34). In any case, the archaeological evidence primarily points to the time of Isidore and beyond for this ritual practice.

[51] Cf. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, pp. 552–53; Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees* (London/New York/Toronto: Longmans; Green, 1957), pp. 607–09.

In trying to explain the multitude of veils recorded for Old St Peter's and other Roman churches, de Blaauw argues that their function was to open rather than to close, to reveal the mystery of the Eucharist and emphasize its ritual scenario, rather than to conceal it.[52] However, in their enactment of this revealing manifestation, the opened *vela* depended precisely on their closing function. Just as opening presupposes a preceding state of closure, unveiling or uncovering can only take place if some sort of veil or cover exists. Revelation, literally *re-velatio*, or unveiling, necessarily implies a previous condition of *velatio*, or veiling. It is the interaction between alternate stages of visibility and seeing on one hand and invisibility and not seeing on the other that frames what is seen as a revealed sight and raises it to the experience of a higher state of vision. The complementarity of *velatio* and *revelatio* was a basic structure not only in the Christian ritual, but also in its reception by the cultic spectator, whose spiritual progression towards the remote ideal of mystical vision was enacted through the invisible-become-visible before him. To be able to really *see* something and envision the spiritual meaning behind the physical signs of the ritual, the ideal seer initially had to be in a state of *not* being able to see. Seeing implied not seeing. Beatus of Liébana, who in the late eighth century applied *velatio* and *revelatio* to the revelatory process of Holy Scripture, also described the eyelids in terms reminding of some sort of cover or veil in front of the eyes, opening in the dark to let us see the obscure meaning of Scripture, or closing when God darkens our understanding and keeps us in the shadows:

> We understand the teachings of the Lord with the eyes [...] We see with the eyelids opened, but with them closed we are in the darkness. When we understand something obscure of Scripture, it is as if we open the eyelids in the midst of darkness. But when we understand nothing at all, it is as if we have the eyelids of the Lord closed in the darkness.[53]

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[52] Cf. de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, II, 566.

[53] 'In oculis praeceptum Domini intelligimus [...] Palpebris apertis videmus, clausis vero in tenebris sumus. Cum vero aliquid de Scripturis obscurum intelligimus, quasi in tenebris palpebras aperimus. Quod vero minime intelligimus, quasi in tenebris palpebras Domini clausas habemus'. Beatus, *In Apocalypsin B. Ioannis Apostoli Commentaria*, I, 4; cf. also I, 3 (*Obras Completas de Beato de Liébana*, ed. by Joaquín González Echegaray, Alberto del Campo & Leslie G. Freeman (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1995), pp. 94–96 and p. 84, respectively). Beatus's Commentary on the Apocalypse is symptomatic of the importance of the concept of veiling and unveiling in the exegetic interpretation of Holy Scripture, which used a number of mystical metaphors turning around the visual relationship between what is seen and unseen, manifest and occult, enlightened and obscure, covered and uncovered, veiled and disclosed etc. Cf. Hans-Jörg Spitz, *Die Metaphorik des geistigen Schriftsinns: Ein Beitrag zur allegorischen Bibelauslegung des ersten Christlichen Jahrtausends* (Munich: Fink, 1972); Johann Konrad Eberlein, *Apparitio regis—revelatio veritatis: Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), esp. pp. 87–94.

Not unlike pope Gregory's 'nocturna visio', this is a mystical notion of understanding based on a mystical notion of perception, both of which are conceived as interactions between cognitive obscurity and God-given sight. Similarly, the liturgical veils of the church, lifted from the eye of the viewer one after the other, made the beholder go through a process of obstructed perception leading to uncovered insight—a visual process which in a way was mystical seeing itself, formalized as a ritual.

Thus, in the early Middle Ages *hagioscopy*, or sacred seeing, was redefined as mystical vision, cultivating a privileged moment of distant, quasi-heavenly visuality, illuminated only through the tension of earthly darkness and ritual obstruction of the gaze. Correspondingly, the early medieval image of Christ was mostly often either veiled behind the sign of the cross or the figure of the lamb, or, alternatively, revealed as the divine majesty in a remote theophany, often seen across a surrounding drape-like layer of heavenly clouds. As a fundamentally visual mechanism, *velatio* and *revelatio* was more than just a ritualization of the act of seeing—that is, a ritual of something becoming visible, of the workings of vision itself when the unseen becomes seen. It was also at some level a perceptual dramatization of the prevailing world order: a visio-ritual framework for understanding the relationship between the invisible God and man, gazing into the veiled world for signs of that beyond it to be unveiled in chosen moments of God-given insight or epiphany.[54]

Elevation as Revelation

When did the ceremonial moment of revelation then occur in the Roman mass, after at one time its Canon had come to be veiled? Even if the early medieval occultation of ritual has not yet quite come to the fore in the first Roman Ordo, this crucial text still offers some hints, allowing at least a speculation on the occult issue. Considering the scarcity and brevity of the Canon rubrics, a comparatively large amount of attention is given to the display gesture later to be known as the 'lesser elevation' at the very end of the Canon. During the concluding doxology, the consecrated sacrament was elevated and shown, the host and chalice lifted by the celebrant and his archdeacon, thus marking the moment when the celebrant returned from the inner *sancta sanctorum* of the Canon back to the 'public' celebration of the

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[54] To the ninth-century Carolingian philosopher Johannes Scotus Eriugena, for instance, all of God's creation was a sort of veil used by the invisible Creator hidden behind it to unveil Himself and become visible: 'Deus in creatura mirabili et ineffabili modo creatur seipsum manifestans, invisibilis visibilem se faciens, et incomprehensibilis comprehensibilem, et occultus apertum, et incognitus cognitum, et forma et specie carens formosum ac speciosum'. *De divisione naturae*, III, 17; PL 122, col. 678.

congregation with its external ritual activity.[55] When the Canon in the impending
futue became a silent recital, sealed from the ears and eyes of onlookers, its aura of
secrecy would have been broken and unsealed precisely in the visible elevation
ritual, complemented audibly by the celebrant as he broke the silence and raised his
voice in the final words of the eucharistic prayer: *Per omnia saecula saeculorum.*
After the tacit solemnity of the Canon had been veiled, this would surely have been
the right moment for unveiling it and for revealing to the people the sacramental
presence now incarnate at the altar. From the point of view of the excluded spectator,
the eucharistic ceremony would have reached its climax when the divine presence
was uncovered and then elevated, open to his sight, like a vision of the invisible God
now taking on a visible form. Immediately after the Canon followed the Lord's
prayer, placed by Gregory the Great in this position, where it could serve as the
congregation's response to the revealed presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Later,
the singing of the *Agnus Dei*, 'O Lamb of God', was introduced in the fraction rite
by the Syrian pope Sergius I (687–701), who was also one of the first to equip the
Roman churches with curtains. As an act of adoration of our Lord present in the
sacrament, this devotional hymn would have been part of the congregation's
ritualized reception of the preceding revelation/elevation, helping the faithful to
envision the coming of Christ in the revelation of the lamb of God. On one hand
these changes of the liturgy were part of the preparation for communion, but on the
other they can be seen also as a ritual compensation for the obscuring of the Canon
by conferring more ritual action upon what follows it.

    The obscure invisibility was followed by an elevated, visible spectacle, in both
the logic and the history of medieval visuality. If seeing the sacred in its privileged
moment of revelation was the culmination and object of cultic vision in the early
Middle Ages, ritual perception was to develop and initiate a whole cult of sacred
visuality and pious seeing in the late medieval period. With the twelfth century as
turning point, *hagioscopy* changed once again and gradually evolved from the
mystical emphasis on the *velatio*, only broken by exclusive moments of sacred
seeing and distant glimpses in the darkness, into a nearly permanent state of
gloriously illuminated *revelatio*, an exalted ecstasy of ritual vision. Had the 'lesser
elevation' come to be looked upon as a revelation of the sacrament, this visual
meaning was to be appropriated and reinforced by a new act of elevation within the
Canon, spectacularly marking the very moment of consecration. The great elevation
of the body of Christ right after the words of institution was introduced by the late
twelfth century, because it was more apt at revealing the transubstantiation of the
exposed host. As an even greater rite of ostentation, it thus eclipsed the older
elevation and made it lose some of its importance and become 'lesser'. This implied
that the Canon of the mass and the liturgical space, in which it took place, were no

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[55] Cf. *Ordo Romanus primus*, 89–90; Andrieu, pp. 96, 146–47. The changing conception of
the 'lesser elevation' from a rite of oblation to an ostentatious gesture of displaying the
eucharistic elements to the faithful is demonstrated by later Frankish revisions, e.g. *Ordo IV*.

longer veiled, but on the contrary exposed for the whole congregation to see. The earliest text that explicitly describes the new ritual of elevation of the sacrament, makes it clear that 'the priests [...] should elevate it [the just consecrated host] so that it can be seen by all'.[56] The significant contrast to the early medieval precept for the parallel liturgical event—'For not all see the elevatedness of the mysteries'—is expressive of a new direction in the history of cult and cultic vision, a change of ritual seeing which cannot, however, be unfolded in this limited context. The exposition of the sacrament at the most beneficial moment of sacred viewing during the great elevation was one among several new ritual practices which were stimulated by a desire to see the sacred that could no longer be held back in suspense.[57] The careful balance between veiling and unveiling could not anymore be maintained, and new rites had to be designed that were able to express and satisfy the growing 'Schaubegierde'.[58] The cult of vision itself, as it were, seems to have been able to generate specific ritual actions. In a sense, the elevation of *Corpus Christi* was just a formalized response to the longing gaze, a ritualization of the act of somebody looking at the sacred: a manifestation of the presence of the gaze as much as a manifestation of the presence of the divine. In the early Middle Ages, the sacred was constructed by not being seen, later precisely by being seen and gazed at intensely. In a way it was the gaze, whether obstructed or indulged, that produced the sacred for the recipient. If nobody cared to look at the elevated host, would it still be (or have the status of) the body of Christ? If the cultic veils were drawn, but there were no eyes against which to draw them, would they still shield something too sacred to be seen? Is it perhaps to go too far to say that ritual not just depended on seeing, but sometimes even had at its core the seeing itself, seeing thus becoming a ritual?

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[56] From the statutes of the synod of Paris under bishop Odo of Sully (1196–1208), quoted by Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi, The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 55, n. 251: 'Praecipitur presbyteris ut, cum in canone missae inceperint "Qui pridie", tenentes hostiam, ne elevent eam statim nimis alte, ita quod videri possit a populo, sed quasi ante pectus detineant donec dixerint "Hoc est corpus meum" et tunc elevent eam ita quod possit ab omnibus videri'. Just like the host is now exposed, so are the words *Hoc est corpus meum* overtly mentioned in the text, and can even be seen depicted in late medieval images of the elevation.

[57] Cf. Dumoutet, *Le Désir de voir l'hostie.*

[58] Cf. Mayer, 'Die heilbringende Schau in Sitte und Kult', p. 236.
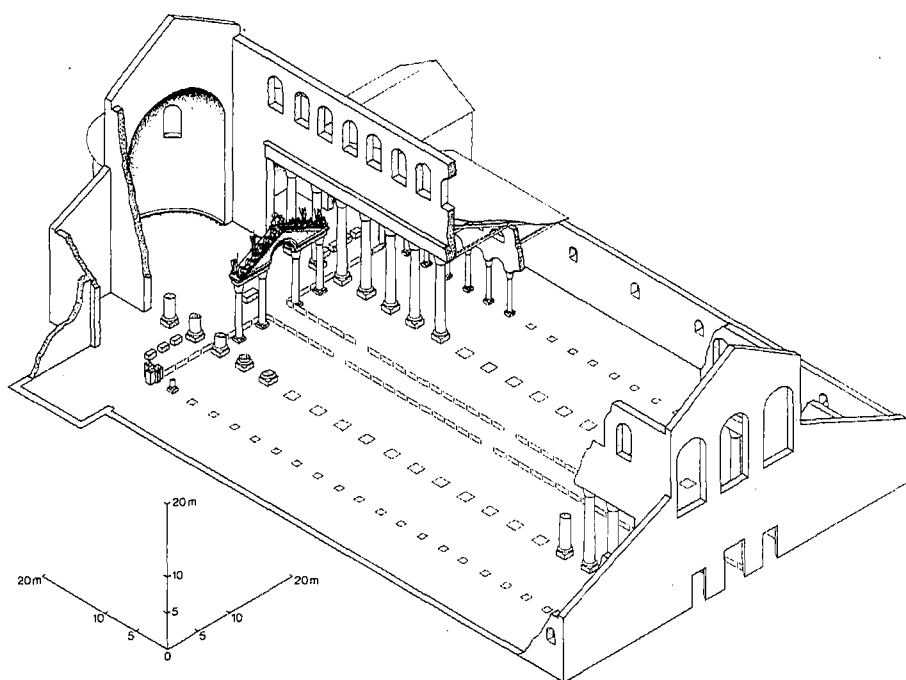
Fig. 1. The Lateran basilica, Rome, begun *c.* 313. Isometric reconstruction as in the fourth century with *solea* and *fastigium* (by Sible de Blaauw/Frans Schoonens).
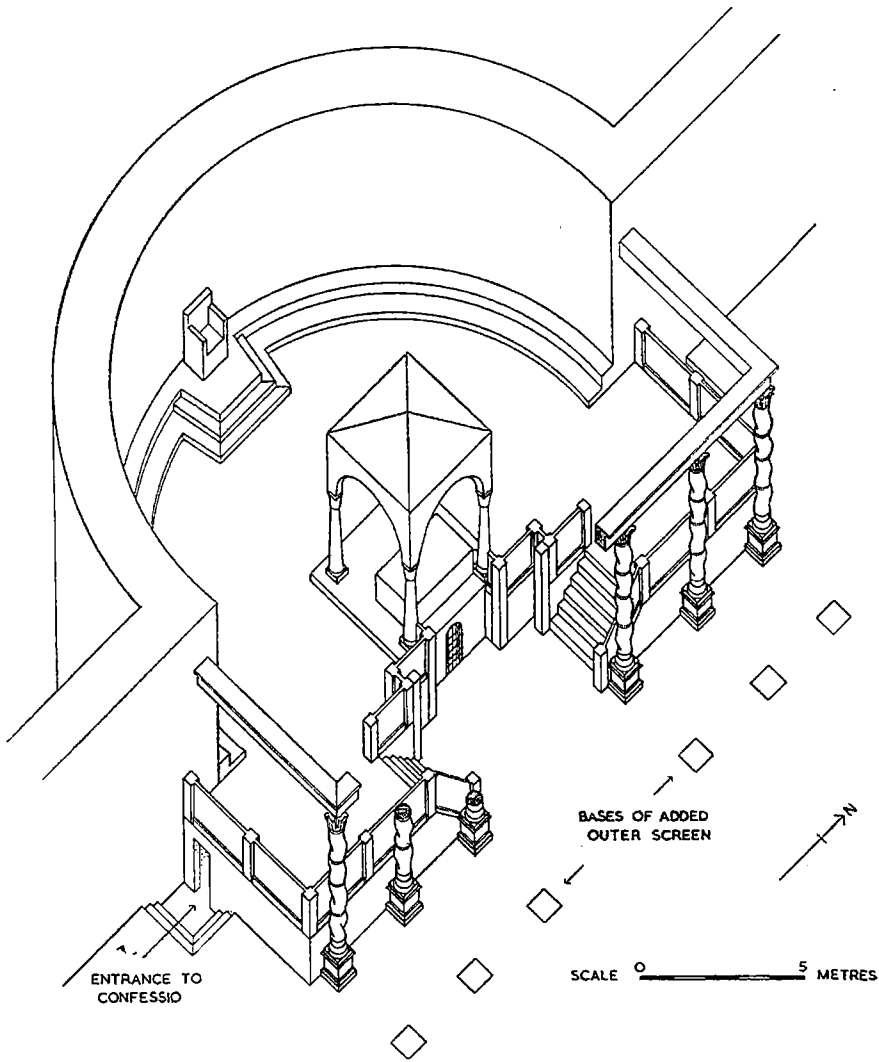
Fig. 2. Old St Peter's, Rome, as in the seventh century after the Gregorian remodeling of the shrine and sanctuary (after Toynbee & Ward Perkins, drawing by S. Rizzello).

Alfonso's Miraculous Book:
Patronage, Politics, and Performance in the
*Cantigas de Santa Maria**

KIRSTIN KENNEDY

A lfonso X of Castile (1252–84) was called leprous while alive, and learned once dead.[1] Twentieth-century scholars, though, have preferred the early sobriquet of 'learned', and stressed the contribution his literary patronage made to the rise of the Castilian vernacular, the development of scientific thinking in the West, and to the evolution of legal and historical models of thought in the Iberian Peninsula.[2] The range of texts which bears his name is broad: there are translations of astrological and astronomical treatises, works on board games, chronicles, and law codes. Nearly all of these are preserved in thirteenth-century copies. Perhaps the most beautiful manuscripts to survive as testament to this wealth of royal patronage

[1] The accusation of leprosy was made by his second son, Sancho: it is cited by Alfonso as a justification for cursing him. The text of his speech is transcribed in *Diplomatario Andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. by Manuel González Jiménez (Seville: El Monte. Caja de Huelva y Sevilla, 1991), document number 503bis. The accusation of leprosy was, of course, a politically loaded one, given the Biblical precedent of King Ozias: see II Chronicles 26. 19–21, and compare Peter McNiven, 'The Problem of Henry IV's Health, 1405–1413', *English Historical Review*, 100 (1985), 747–72.

[2] See Evelyn S. Procter, *Alfonso X of Castile: Patron of Literature and Learning* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), and, more recently, *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. by Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

are two of the four codices which contain poems in Galician-Portuguese, praising the Virgin Mary and narrating miracles performed by her. Taking their cue from the title used in the table of contents in three of the four manuscripts, modern scholars refer to the collected poems as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Despite this apparent homogeneity, however, the four codices differ from one another in content, thematic emphasis, and execution. The one referred to as 'Toledo' (after the location of the cathedral library where it was found) reflects an early stage of the compilation, and it contains the least number of *cantigas*.[3] Moreover, most of the miracle narratives it includes are familiar to other collections copied in the rest of Europe. The Toledo manuscript is also the least ornate of the four: while the poems are all accompanied by music, there are no illustrative miniatures, and initials are distinguished only by red, blue or purple pen-flourishing, which is elegant, but hardly remarkable. Two other *Cantigas* manuscripts are in the monastery library at El Escorial. One of these, known as the 'códice de los músicos' because of the illuminated miniatures of musicians which highlight every tenth poem, includes between its 361 folios nearly all the *cantigas* copied in the other three manuscripts, plus a few which are not.[4] All are set to music; major initials are illuminated (but not historiated); minor ones are flourished with blue or red ink. The theme of the narratives encompasses traditional Marian miracles as well as obscure ones set in Spain and Portugal, and those which directly concern the king and his family. The other *Cantigas* codex in the Escorial library is a very splendid affair. Despite missing folios, one hundred and ninety-three of the projected two hundred poems survive complete; these include a number involving the royal family and retinue, and they are accompanied not only by music, but by six-frame panels of illuminated miniatures, enclosed in borders bearing the arms of Castile-Leon, and captioned by rubrics written alternately in blue and red

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[3] The Toledo manuscript is now Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, MS 10069. For the argument that it represents 'the first manuscript collection of the *Cantigas*', see Stephen Parkinson, 'Layout and Structure of the Toledo Manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, ed. by Stephen Parkinson (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), pp. 133–53. Manuel Pedro Ferreira argued, however, that it was simply a thirteenth-century copy of a stage in the on-going compilation. See his comments in 'Round Table: The Manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Cobras e Son*, pp. 214–20 (p. 214), and his article 'The Stemma of the Marian *Cantigas*: Philological and Musical Evidence', in *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 6 (1994), 58–98 (a version of this article plagued by typographical errors appeared in *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 5 (1993), 49–84).

[4] The 'códice de los músicos' is El Escorial: Monasterio, MS b.I.2; on this manuscript see Martha E. Schaffer, 'Los códices de las "Cantigas de Santa Maria": su problemática', in *El Scriptorium alfonsí: de los Libros de Astrología a las 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, ed. by Jesús Montoya Martínez and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1999), pp. 127–48 (p.140), and also her article 'The "Evolution" of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: The Relationships between Manuscripts T, F and E', in *Cobras e Son*, pp. 186–213.

ink.[5] It is because of this rich decoration that the manuscript has become known as the 'códice rico'. Moreover, it seems the 'códice rico' was intended to have a complementary second volume. The fourth *Cantigas* manuscript, now in Florence, is of a similar length and is laid out in an identical fashion, that is to say, with text accompanied by music and facing panels of miniatures.[6] It too draws miracles from both traditional sources and, increasingly, from Hispanic ones, including miracles involving Alfonso and his household. Unfortunately, this Florence manuscript is incomplete (no music has been copied onto the ruled staves, and many panels of miniatures are unfilled) and it has been bound up by later binders in a disorganized fashion.

The compiling and re-compiling of these poems in praise of the Virgin echoes the drafting and re-drafting of Alfonsine law-codes, or the decision to compose, simultaneously, a chronicle of Spain and a universal one.[7] The *Cantigas*, then, are not simply four-fold proof of royal religious devotion, but an evolving text which was re-packaged for different purposes that, unfortunately, will never become entirely clear owing to lack of external evidence.[8] Unlike the chronicles and legal codes, however, there is evidence to suggest that the *Cantigas* codices were intended for use in religious rituals, thus reinforcing the image of royal piety. One piece of evidence for this is found in the second draft of Alfonso's will, where an unspecified number of books of 'the songs of the miracles and of praise of Holy Mary' are mentioned in connection with rituals to be performed on Marian feast days:

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[5] The manuscript is El Escorial: Monasterio, MS T.I.1. It has been published in facsimile: Alfonso X el Sabio, *Las Cantigas de Santa María: Edición facsímil, El Códice Rico del Escorial (Manuscrito escurialense Tj1)*, 2 vols (Madrid: Edilán, 1979).

[6] Stephen Parkinson, 'Layout in the *Códices ricos* of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Hispanic Research Journal*, 1.3 (2000), 243–74; Ferreira, 'The Stemma', p. 60; Nella Aita, *O Codice Florentino das Cantigas do Rey Affonso, o Sabio* (Rio de Janeiro: Litho-Typ. Fluminense, 1922); Antonio García Solalinde, 'El códice florentino de las *Cantigas* y su relación con los demás manuscritos', in *Revista de Filología Española*, 5 (1918), 143–79.

[7] On the legal works, see Jerry R. Craddock, 'La cronología de las obras legislativas de Alfonso X el Sabio', in *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 51 (1981), 365–418, and his 'How Many *Partidas* in the *Siete Partidas*?', in *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Alan D. Deyermond: A North American Tribute*, ed. by John S. Miletich (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1986), pp. 83–92. On the evolution of the chronicles, see Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las 'estorias' de Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1992).

[8] Martha E. Schaffer, 'Epigraphs as a Clue to the Conceptualization and Organization of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *La Corónica*, 19 (1990–91), 57–88; see also her comment that 'these four Alfonsine manuscripts are not copies of a single exemplar or of a single work. On the contrary, each manuscript or version represents a particular perspective, vision or project': Schaffer, 'The "Evolution" of the *Cantigas*', p. 186. A pioneering study on the manuscripts was published by Parkinson, 'The First Reorganization of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 1 (1988), 91–97.

Then our relic-case (*tablas*)[...] Similarly we order that if our body should be buried in Seville, then our relic-case which we had made in honour of Holy Mary, with its relics, should be there too, and that it should be carried in the procession on the feast days of Holy Mary, and that it should be placed upon the altar [...] as well as a large panel on which are many ivory pictures depicting the deeds of Holy Mary, which should be placed on Holy Mary's altar every Saturday during mass. [...] Likewise we order that all the books of the songs of the miracles and of praise of Holy Mary be in that church where our body is buried, and that they be sung on the feast days of Holy Mary and of Our Lord. And should he who lawfully inherits our possessions from us wish to have those books of the songs of Holy Mary, we order that he grant something in exchange to the church from which he takes them, so that he may have them lawfully and without sin.[9]

Carrying around books and reading aloud Marian miracles were not unusual practices on Marian feast days, and the description of these books certainly matches the contents of the four codices of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.[10] The particularly royal associations of these manuscripts are suggested by the clause in which Alfonso provides for the church in the eventuality that his heir should want to take them for himself. Marian devotion among thirteenth-century monarchs was not unusual, although in the context of thirteenth-century Iberia it had come to acquire a crusading, colonising aspect.[11] Unfortunately, the evidence for the whereabouts of these particular manuscripts in the years following Alfonso's death is non-existent, and the earliest scrap of information which may refer to them is conclusive.[12]

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[9] My translation; a transcription of the oldest copy of the codicil, Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Gaveta 16, maço 2, n. 6, in González Jiménez, *Diplomatario Andaluz*, doc. 521. The contemporary Latin translation of the will is published in Georges Daumet, 'Les testaments d'Alphonse X le Savant, roi de Castille', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 67 (1906), 70–99.

[10] For the readings on Marian feast days, see Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1982), p. 133.

[11] On this bellicose association, see particularly Amy G. Remensnyder, 'The Colonization of Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early-Sixteenth-Century Mexico', in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society: Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, ed. by Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 189–219.

[12] Mª Carmen Álvarez Márquez, 'La Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral hispalense en el siglo XV', in *Archivo Hispalense*, 213 (1987), 3–68 (pp. 14–15 and 27). See also her article 'La formación de los fondos bibliográficos de la Catedral de Sevilla. El nacimiento de su "Scriptorium"', in *El Libro antiguo español* (Actas del segundo Colóquio Internacional, Madrid), ed. by María Luisa López-Vidriero and Pedro M. Cátedra (Salamanca: Universidad, 1992), pp. 17–47 (pp. 26–28). For evidence of the peripacies of other *Cantigas* manuscripts, see Martha E. Schaffer, 'Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript of Alfonso El Sabio's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Observations on Composition, Correction, Compilation and

Attempts to match catalogues with codices aside, however, the evidence scholars do have in one manuscript suggests it could have been incorporated in church rituals by a king determined to use his piety to make a wider, political point.[13]

Whereas the Escorial codex of the *Cantigas* known as the 'códice rico' and the Florence copy of the *Cantigas* both display prominent images of Alfonso immediately following the table of contents, the Escorial codex known as the 'códice de los músicos' has been altered, with the consequence that the visual prominence of Alfonso X is diminished but the liturgical function of the manuscript is brought to the fore. The folio which is now 29[r] contains an illuminated miniature of Alfonso surrounded by scribes and musicians.[14] The signs of wear on folio 29[r] suggest this was originally the opening folio, as does, more compellingly, the numeration of quire signatures in the two following quires.[15] At an unspecified time, however, five new quires were added to the beginning of the manuscript, relegating the miniature of Alfonso to the beginning of quire six, that is now folio 29[r].[16] The content of these additional quires, copied in a different hand from the text of the original compilation, comprises thirteen poems narrating the life of the Virgin (rather than her miracles), and a table of contents.[17] Folios 27 and 28[r] were left blank (presumably in the expectation that the collection would be expanded further), while a poem explaining how the rest of the manuscript contained delightful poems composed by 'Don Affonso de Castela' was copied onto the last folio of the added fifth quire.[18] A

Performance', in *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 7 (1995), 65–84.

[13] Deirdre Elizabeth Jackson, 'Saint and Simulacra: Images of the Virgin in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, 2 vols, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 2002), 'Text' volume, p. 56, has argued that 'perhaps the instructions in [Alfonso's] will are not last-minute or posthumous innovations but directions to the heir to the throne to continue a well-established practice'.

[14] This miniature is reproduced in black and white in Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural alfonsí* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1994), p. 108.

[15] El Escorial: Monasterio, MS b.I.2, fol. 29[r] does not have a quire signature; however the two quires which follow it are identified on the verso of their final folios as, respectively, '.b.' and '.c.', which strongly supports the argument that the quire beginning at fol. 29[r] originally opened the manuscript.

[16] Schaffer, 'Marginal Notes', pp. 79–80, suggests that the 'códice de los músicos' was expanded subsequent to Alfonso's death in response to the request in his will that *cantigas* be sung on Marian feast days.

[17] The text of these added poems is given in Alfonso X, el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. by Walter Mettmann, second edn, 3 vols (Madrid: Castalia, 1986–89) (hereafter *Cantigas*), III, nos 410–22. The added table of contents in the manuscript does not include these thirteen *cantigas*.

[18] A hastily-written *cantiga*, possibly in a different hand from the additions at the front of the manuscript, was added to the end of the codex, on fol. 361[r–v]. It does not appear in the added table of contents, however. For the text, see *Cantigas*, III, no. 402.

second poem on the composition of the miracle collection, couched as though sung by Alfonso himself, followed this one on folio 28^v and spilled over onto folio 29^r.[19] The person responsible for copying this addition was obliged to erase the original poem beneath the miniature of Alfonso in the first column of folio 29^r. There is no powerful, palæographical reason to assume these alterations were not made during Alfonso's reign (and so presumably in the context of royal patronage); indeed, given Alfonso's particular concern to associate his kingship with the cult of the Virgin Mary—as evinced not only by the literary and visual depiction of him in the four surviving *cantigas* manuscripts, but also in the text of his will—it seems probable that the 'códice de los músicos' was being altered with royal wishes in mind. Placing a series of poems which could be sung on Marian feast days at the start of an anthology of Marian miracles broadened the purpose of the codex by turning a work of personal devotion into an object suitable for rituals of public worship.[20] Meanwhile, the addition of two poems which emphasise Alfonso's connection with the collection also suggests the purpose of the original codex was being adapted for different, possibly more public, use. The most likely reason for this would have been to promote the close association between the king and the cult of the Virgin Mary which, as will be shown below, was closely bound up with the display of royal objects of worship.

This said, however, it seems these additions were not made in a steady, organized fashion. There is a noticeable erasure, which reveals traces of an initial, beneath the thirteenth additional *cantiga* on folio 12^v. Although one scholar recently suggested that this erased poem was the one which now begins in the second column of folio 28^v and concludes over the erasure beneath the miniature on folio 29^r, the number of lines erased on folio 12^v makes this suggestion unlikely.[21] Moreover, the layout of the opening of the table of contents suggests that the two additional poems stressing Alfonso's authorship were added at at a separate stage in the copying of the contents list. The epigraphs and first lines of both these *cantigas* are missing their initial letters, and are copied in the nine blank lines above what was originally the first entry in the table of contents, namely the *incipit* of the *cantiga* not written over an erasure, beneath the miniature of Alfonso on folio 29^r.[22] In other words, the transformation of the 'códice de los músicos' from an object of private devotion to a work with a more public, liturgical role, was a hesitant one.

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[19] The text of this added poem is given as 'Prólogo B' in *Cantigas*, I, pp. 54–56.

[20] The rubrics erratically indicate the appropriate month for the feast day poem ('festa') to be sung, for example, the ninth 'festa', which is 'da vigilia de Santa Maria d'Agosto': MS b.I.2, fol.8^v.

[21] Schaffer, 'The "Evolution" of the *Cantigas*', p. 204.

[22] *Cantigas*, I, no. 1. The six-line initial accompanying this entry on fol.13^r distinguishes it as the first in the table of contents. The nine blank lines may have been intended to incorporate a miniature.

The narrative and pictorial content of the *Cantigas* manuscripts in respect of the king's self-presentation is less ambiguous, however. Scholars have often remarked how Alfonso consistently presents himself as the Virgin's troubadour in the poems.[23] This use of a secular lyric conceit, that of a feudal relationship to express religious devotion, is not unique to the poetry of the period; however, Alfonso extends the notion further to show himself as divinely-appointed intermediary between the Virgin and his subjects.[24] It is a literary image which, in the illustrated manuscripts, is reinforced by miniatures of Alfonso leading his subjects in praise.[25] This concern to link crown power with heavenly power suggests that Alfonso considered these manuscripts part of an attempt to acquire for himself some of the saintly aura which enveloped his contemporary Louis IX of France, and his father, Fernando III. By stipulating in his will that books associated with his patronage should be present in ceremonies at the church where he was to be buried, Alfonso demonstrated a conscious effort to perpetuate this image of divine favour presented in the *Cantigas*.

The codicil to Alfonso's second will is not the only example of royal books being part of a performance witnessed by an audience. This time, however, the context is domestic and personal, not ecclesiastical and liturgical. The Florence codex contains the text and miniatures to a very unusual miracle indeed. This describes how Alfonso is cured by a book which, the text implies and the miniature rubric states, is a book of poems in praise of the Virgin that he has commissioned.[26] Although the rubric to the *cantiga*, which explains that the miracle took place as Alfonso lay ill in Vitoria, has encouraged scholars to examine the poem as a fragment of evidence for the royal itinerary and psyche, it is more profitable to consider it as a literary (rather than a

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[23] Joseph T. Snow, 'The Central Rôle of the Troubadour *Persona* in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 56 (1979), 305–16.

[24] On the feudal terminology which permeated language, see José Mattoso, 'A difusão da mentalidade vassálica na linguagem quotidiana', in José Mattoso, *Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval*, second edn (Lisbon: Estampa, 1993), pp. 149–63.

[25] See George D. Greenia, 'The Politics of Piety: Manuscript Illumination and Narration in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Hispanic Review*, 61 (1993), 325–44, and Greenia, 'The Court of Alfonso X in Words and Pictures: The *Cantigas*', in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context: Acts of the Fifth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society. Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9–16 August, 1986*, ed. by Keith Busby and Erik Kooper, Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature, 25 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990), pp. 227–37. Also J. García-Varela, 'La función ejemplar de Alfonso X en las cantigas personales', in *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 4.1 (1992), 2–16.

[26] Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Banco Rari 20, fol.119ʳ [text]; 119ᵛ [miniatures and rubrics]. A colour facsimile of the manuscript has been published, see: Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa María, edición facsímil del códice B. R.. 20 de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Florencia, siglo XIII*, 2 vols (Madrid: Edilán, 1989–91). The text is edited in *Cantigas*, no. 209, and see Kulp-Hill, *Songs*, no. 209.

literal) example of how Alfonso's books were placed at the service of the construction of a very particular royal image.[27]

The text of the poem is straightforward enough. Alfonso is struck so ill in Vitoria that everyone fears for his life. His doctors propose a cure of hot towels placed on the afflicted part of his body, but Alfonso rejects this and calls for 'her Book' to be brought. This is duly done, and, unbidden, the physicians place it upon the king. At once, Alfonso recovers. Everyone present kneels to thank the Virgin and acknowledge the miracle. The miniatures illustrating the poem clarify the detail of where the book is placed—it is put on Alfonso's chest, the open folios facing upward—while the rubric states explicitly that the miracle-working book brought on the king's orders was one that Alfonso made.[28] While there is nothing unusual in the context of standard miracle narratives about the king's faith, or about Alfonso remaining in bed for his cure rather than embarking on pilgrimage, the object which performs the miracle and its relationship to its owner are noteworthy.[29]

Words and letters can have talismanic value, and devotion (particularly Marian devotion) is often demonstrated by the act of writing treatises or poetry in defence and praise of the Virgin.[30] However, books or texts themselves seldom perform

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[27] John Esten Keller and Richard P. Kinkade, 'Iconography and Literature: Alfonso Himself in *Cantiga* 209', in *Hispania*, 66 (1983), 348–52. See also Richard P. Kinkade, 'Alfonso X, *Cantiga* 235, and the Events of 1269–1278', in *Speculum*, 67 (1992), 284–323 (p. 313), who argues the poem records Alfonso's struggle against a cancerous facial tumour which eventually killed him. The corresponding miniatures, however, show the book being placed on the king's chest, and the doctors' proposed cure of hot towels suggests they thought he was afflicted with a severe bout of flu. That said, it is difficult to interpret the miniature as a literal illustration of the location of his ailment. The miniatures illustrating another miraculous cure bestowed upon Alfonso, described in *cantiga* 235, show him reclining in the same position and Christ, held by the Virgin, placing his healing hands on his chest. See Richard P. Kinkade and John E. Keller, 'An Orphaned Miniature of *Cantiga* 235 from the Florentine Codex', in *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 19.1 (1998), 27–50. Their article provides a colour reproduction of the miniatures and an accurate analysis of the closing stanzas of the poem; however, compare Kennedy, 'In Sickness and in Health: Alfonso X of Castile and the Virgin Mary in *Cantiga* 235', in *Galician Review*, 1 (1997), 27–42.

[28] The rubric above the third miniature in the panel describes 'Como el Rey mandou que lli trouxessen o libro das cantigas que el fez de Santa Maria' (abbreviations silently expanded). While there is a shift in emphasis in the description of the book in the miniature rubric, the miniatures themselves are broadly consistent with the details of the poem, although this is not always the case: see Parkinson, 'Layout in the *Códices ricos*', pp. 243–44.

[29] On the generally different contexts in which rich and poor benefit from miracles, see Sharon Farmer, 'The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris', in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts*, pp. 153–71.

[30] On the talismanic value of letters generally, see Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001), Chapter 2; Barry Taylor, '"Dicta, scripta et facta": las inscripciones en la literatura sapiencial (Casos del *Libro de los*

healing miracles, and those which do are usually Gospel books—or are compared to Gospel books.[31] The book's healing power, then, is usually derived from God himself, not from an intermediary such as the Virgin or a saint, although there are exceptions. A splendid copy of St Dionysius's works, brought to the abbey church of Saint-Denis by Imperial legates in 827, performed nineteen miraculous cures of diverse complaints on the same night it arrived there (which also happened to coincide with the vigil of the saint's feast).[32] In a closer parallel to Alfonso's case, a noblewoman who pressed an open book of the life and miracles of St Francis onto her chest, was cured of a breast tumour because she believed something of the saint's presence was contained between the pages.[33] The mechanics of Alfonso's miracle

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exemplos por ABC, *Gesta Romanorum* y Antonio de Guevara', in *diablotexto*, 3 (1996), 199–214. *Cantigas*, III, no. 384 tells of a friar who always wrote the Virgin's name in gold, blue and red, and indeed carried an example of this calligraphy with him, kissing her written name often in order to ward off the devil. Perhaps the most renowned figure to write in defence of the Virgin was Hildefonsus, the seventh-century Archbishop of Toledo: see one account in *Cantigas*, I, no. 2; its prominent position in the compilation is discussed by Joseph T. Snow, 'Alfonso y/en sus Cantigas', in *Estudios alfonsíes: Lexicografía, lírica, estética y política de Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. by José Mondéjar and Jesús Montoya Martínez (Granada: Instituto de Ciencias y de la Educación, 1995), pp. 71–90.

[31] On the scarcity of miraculous books which heal, see Frederich C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, FF Communications, 204 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia/Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969), which records no instances. The motif is also rare in a broader narrative context: see Harriet Goldberg, *Motif-Index of Medieval Spanish Folk Narratives*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 162 (Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1998), who lists only the narrative of *cantiga* 209 (entry D1500.0.2). For the association between Gospel books and healing, see Gerald of Wales, who recalls how a copy of St John's Gospel effectively banished erotic thoughts ('unclean spirits') from a soothsayer's mind when placed on his lap, in the same way as Bernard the Apostle cured the sick by placing a copy of St Matthew's Gospel upon them: see Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1978), p. 117. Meanwhile, Bernard of Angers claimed his accurate transcription of the miracles of St Foy inspired one learned academic to use his book as a healing tool 'as if it were the text of the holy gospel': see Bernard of Angers, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, ed. and trans. by Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 1995), pp. 109–10. I am most grateful to Dr Deirdre Jackson for drawing these, and subsequent, references to such miracles to my attention.

[32] The miraculous events are recorded by Hilduin, abbot of St-Denis, in a letter to Louis the Pious. See P. G. Théry, *Etudes Dionysiennes*, 1 (1932), pp. 5–6, and also John Lowden, 'The Luxury Book as Diplomatic Gift', in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. by Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), pp. 249–60 (especially p. 251). The way in which the book effected the miracles, however, is not described.

[33] *Chronica Generalium ministrorum ordinis fratrum minorum*, in *Analecta Franciscana*

are, however, somewhat different, because in *cantiga* 209 the book which performs the cure is also the book which is written by the sick king as testament to his Marian devotion. In other words, it is both the tangible sign of the king's faith, and the conduit through which that faith is rewarded in the form of a healing miracle. This is a striking variant on the miracle of the noblewoman or, the case of the friar in *cantiga* 384 who was granted a miracle because he carried about a carefully-written example of Mary's name. It is not, however, such a surprising variant when taken in the context of the overall political ideology advanced in the *Cantigas*.

This political ideology, in which Alfonso is presented as spiritual mediator between heaven and his subjects, in a deliberate parallel with the Virgin's own role as intercessor between God and the earthly faithful, extends to objects associated with him and with the Castilian royal family in general. Scholars have been quick to note that Alfonsine ideology is dismissive of the thaumaturgical powers claimed for other European monarchs, such as Louis IX of France.[34] However, by associating the working of miracles not with his person, but with objects connected to him, Alfonso attempted to perpetuate the connection between the kingdom of heaven and the Castilian crown. This is reflected not only in the *Cantigas*, where a royal statue of the Virgin is displayed before the populace after mass on the Virgin's feast day, and cures a dumb man, but also in Alfonso's anticipation that his heir would want to possess for himself the books of Marian *cantigas* bequeathed in his will to Seville cathedral.[35] The connection between miracle-working objects and generations of the Castilian royal family is made in another *cantiga*, which describes how Alfonso's sister was revived from the dead by a statue of the Virgin which had belonged to Alfonso VII of León (d. 1157), which had been repainted in a 'better' fashion by Alfonso's father, Fernando III.[36] Elsewhere, a *cantiga* describes how a monk of the Military Order of Santa María, founded by Alfonso himself, is commanded by the

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sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia, edita a patribus collegii S. Bonaventuræ, 6 vols (Quaracchi [Florence]: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventuræ, 1885–1917), III (1897), p. 209.

[34] The classic study on this phenomenon is by Marc Léopold Benjamin Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges. Études sur le charactère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris/Strasbourg: Université de Strasbourg, 1924). The so-called king's touch is dismissed in *Cantigas*, III, no. 321, where an unidentified monarch scorns the suggestion that Christian kings can cure by touch. Instead he orders the sick Cordoban child brought before him to drink water which has washed a particular statue of the Virgin. On this, see Anthony J. Lappin, 'The Thaumaturgy of Regal Piety: Alfonso X and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*', in *Journal of Hispanic Research*, 4 (1995–96), 39–59, and Jesús Montoya Martínez, 'La Cantiga núm. 321 o el milagro regio', in Jesús Montoya Martínez, *Composición, estructura y contenido del cancionero marial de Alfonso X* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1999), pp. 347–60.

[35] *Cantigas*, III, no. 324. For Alfonso's will, see above p. 202.

[36] *Cantigas*, II, no. 122.

Virgin to give up his ivory statue of the Virgin to the king.[37] Finally, yet another *cantiga* relates how a group of nuns witness a vision of the Virgin bowing to an unspecified king (thinly disguised as Alfonso himself) who, like Fernando III in *cantiga* 122 cited above, always ensured that his statues of the Virgin were well painted and dressed. The Virgin's explanation for her abasement is that the king has been unstinting in his honour of her.[38] Significantly, this honour is unequivocally public: the king dresses statues of her in rich clothes on Marian feast days, and commands that these be placed upon the altar. Within this context of Marian celebration, he also acts as her troubadour, composing poems about her miracles. The nuns' vision takes place during Easter celebrations; when they inform the king of what they have seen, the king weeps before the statue—and commands events be recorded in writing.

It is self-evident that in order to present its ideological message, this royal devotion must take place in a public context. Exactly what this constituted, however, and whether this public context was also a ritual one are issues which are less clear. The miracle of the dumb man described in *cantiga* 324 is a miracle performed for a member of the 'poblo' in the obviously ritual context of a church service. The non-noble, non-ecclesiastic residents of Seville gather in the cathedral on the Virgin's feast day and beg Alfonso, who has dutifully been attending mass in the private royal chapel, to show them the statute of the Virgin he keeps there.[39] Their demands (and devotion) are, like the king's, inspired by the statue's great beauty. Alfonso answers their request with alacrity—but also with much ceremony, for the statue is brought out accompanied by a great procession. As it appears before the crowd, the dumb man joins in the vocal praise of the Virgin and rejoices, raising his arms heavenward, that he is cured. This unexpected healing miracle, performed by a statue owned by the king, in the context of a Marian ritual led by the king, is witnessed by the king, his retinue, and the subjects who have gathered in the cathedral.

By contrast the miniatures illlustrating *cantiga* 209, in which Alfonso is cured by a book, show him surrounded physicians and courtiers—in other words, in an intimate context, accompanied by members of his royal household.[40] The occasion, while not one of religious celebration, is suffused with public ceremony. Most obviously, the concluding stanza states that the king's retinue unanimously praised the Virgin when they saw he was cured, kneeling to touch the ground with their

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[37] *Cantigas*, III, no. 299. For a thorough study of the miracle-working statues of the Virgin in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and their sociological context, see Jackson, 'Saint and Simulacra', 'Text' volume, p. 111.

[38] *Cantigas*, III, no. 296.

[39] The reference to the un-named king's decision to bury both his parents in Seville Cathedral in the sixth stanza identifies him as Alfonso X.

[40] See the observations on witnesses to miracles in Farmer, 'The Beggar's Body', pp. 166–67.

foreheads. This is echoed in the miniature rubric: 'How the King and all the others who were there greatly praised Holy Mary, putting their faces on the ground'.[41] The miniature itself, meanwhile, shows courtiers and physicians bowing low and kneeling with their hands clasped heavenwards. Alfonso sits upright in bed, the book on his lap, hands and gaze raised heavenwards. And although the text does not describe Alfonso's clothing, the miniatures depict him in different robes before and after his cure. In the first four miniatures, which show him as he lies sick, he is crowned but wears a plain, white, tunic. In the fifth and sixth miniatures, however, which depict him when he is cured, he is still crowned but now wears a dark blue robe with a gold, heraldic trim. This change of dress also coincides with his upright position and his attitude of thanksgiving to the Virgin before his assembled courtiers. The fifth miniature, which illustrates the brief account in the sixth and seventh stanzas of how a cured Alfonso gave thanks, surrounded by grieving courtiers as yet unaware of the miracle, elaborates on the laconic description of the king's gratitude. The miniature shows him upright in bed, holding the book aloft and reverently kissing its tightly-clasped edge.[42] The book itself, however, is not depicted by the artist in a distinctive fashion. Its red binding and gold clasps equally enclose Alfonsine legal and chronicle texts.[43] When it is shown open on Alfonso's stomach in the fourth miniature, there is no attempt to represent writing or miniatures on these folios upon which the king's hand rests. The miraculous powers of this particular codex, which derive from a combination of devotional content and royal faith, can only be deduced from the context described by the poem and miniatures.[44]

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[41] Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale, MS B.R.20, fol. 119ᵛ: 'Como el Rey & todolos outros que y estauan loaron muyto Santa Maria poendo em terra sa faz' (my transcription, abbreviations silently expanded).

[42] On the kiss in Christian ritual 'as a mark of respect growing into reverence', see James Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 5 vols, 10th edn (Edinburgh: Clark, 1935), III, *sub verba* 'Kiss'.

[43] See the miniature of the book-holding king in the *General estoria IV*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica, MS Urb. Lat. 539, fol.2ᵛ (reproduced in black and white in Antonio García Solalinde, 'Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras', in *Revista de Filología Española*, 2 (1915), 283–88 (p. 285). Compare also the red books depicted in other *Cantigas* miniatures, and the red book with gold clasps and bosses in the miniature prefacing the *Estoria de Espanna* (El Escorial: Monasterio, MS Y.I.2, fol.1ᵛ), colour reproductions in *Historia ilustrada del libro español: los manuscritos*, ed. by Hipólito Escolar, Biblioteca del Libro, 54 (Madrid: Ediciones Pirámide, 1993), opposite pp. 197 and 188. The plate opposite p. 326 is a large colour reproduction of the fifth miniature in the panel accompanying *cantiga* 209, and shows Alfonso kissing the edge of his miraculous book.

[44] On *Cantigas* artists' preference for generic representation of objects over the particular, see Deirdre Jackson; 'Saint and Simulacra', p. 21. See also her article 'Shields of Faith: Apotropaic Images of the Virgin in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María*', in *Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review*, 24.2 (1997), 38–46.

It would be nice to think that this was one of the *cantigas* sung on Marian feast days, as stipulated in Alfonso's will, and that one of the *Cantigas* codices (perhaps the altered 'códice de los músicos') did indeed acquire fame as a miracle-working object. However, although the association between the queen of heaven and the king of Castile was one which Alfonso X enthusiastically promoted, his efforts, while often very public, did not represent an attempt to establish any new form of ritual. By this I mean that Alfonso seems to have been content to subsume the devotional objects associated with him into the wider practices of the Catholic liturgy. This is evident from the stipulations in his will, and from the context in which the miracle-working royal statue is presented to the church-going crowds of Seville. The statue's healing powers are known to the wider public but not, it would seem, as a result of any efforts on the part of Alfonso to link the image with a particular royal ritual involving the exhibition of the statue at regular intervals. Instead, like the miraculous healing book, the event is a response to a particular demand or situation.

Thirteenth-century Castilian did not possess an equivalent to the modern English term 'ritual'; the word for ceremony, 'ceremonia', appeared only in the fifteenth-century.[45] Yet Alfonso and his contemporaries were aware that the repetition of particular actions enshrined a person, deed, or event in the collective memory to the extent that it would become customary. Although he may have chosen to place his association with the Virgin Mary within the context of Catholic ritual, Alfonso was equally aware of the political capital to be gained from the memory of his saintly father. He was careful to establish a yearly ritual of tribute at his father Fernando's tomb, a ritual quite separate from the calendar of church celebrations. According to the fourteenth-century chronicle of his reign, Alfonso decreed it should be custom that on the anniversary of Fernando's death, Andalucian nobles gather at his tomb with lighted candles, and remain there the entire day. The king of Granada was also required to send a hundred noblemen with candles to place around the tomb. Alfonso also ordered the suspension of all trading activities on the eve of the anniversary and on the day itself (31 May).[46] The chronicle gives no indication that this ritual of paternal remembrance and political power outlasted Alfonso's reign. In the 1270s, meanwhile, Alfonso ordered the construction of new tombs for his parents, which included mechanical statues of them.[47]

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[45] See the *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish*, ed. by Lloyd A. Kasten and Florian J. Cody, 2nd edn (New York: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 2001), and *Diccionario de la prosa castellana del rey Alfonso X*, ed. Lloyd A. Kasten and John J. Nitti, 3 vols (New York: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 2002).

[46] See *Crónica de Alfonso X según el Ms. II/2777 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real (Madrid)*, ed. by Manuel González Jiménez (Murcia: Real Academia de Alfonso X el Sabio, 1998), p. 27; translation in *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, trans. by Shelby Thacker and José Escobar (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), pp. 46–47.

[47] See José Hernández Díaz, 'Estudio de la iconografía mariana hispalense de la época fernandina', in *Archivo Hispalense*, 9 (1948), 154–90, and Javier Martínez de Aguirre Aldaz,

From all of the above, it may seem that Alfonso, the recipient of divine miracles, failed to capitalize on their political potential by recording them not in annual rituals of celebration, but in codices of limited circulation. However, Alfonso's aims, as suggested above, were broader. His efforts were directed not towards personal sanctity, but towards dynastic exaltation. In other words, he was simply one of a line of Castilian kings blessed with divine assistance. By establishing a ritual of tribute to his father, and associating himself with books incorporated into the church liturgy, Alfonso sought to demonstrate this. To an extent, perhaps he succeeded. The healing reputation of the statue of the Virgin kept in Seville cathedral royal chapel was still powerful in the fourteenth century: in 1337 it was taken out on a petitionary procession to pray for the health of an ailing Alfonso XI.[48] Meanwhile, the sword held by the statue of Fernando III on the tomb Alfonso had erected in Seville cathedral in the 1270s had also gained a fourteenth-century reputation for performing miracles.[49] Yet Alfonso's miraculous book—whatever version of the *Cantigas* it represented—was forgotten in the popular and persistent movement for the canonization of Fernando III which Alfonso himself had been responsible for promoting.[50] The father's conquering sword, then, proved mightier than his son's pious pen.

'La primera escultura funeraria gótica en Sevilla: la Capilla Real y el sepulcro de Guzmán el Bueno (1248–1320)', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, 68 (1995), 111–29 (p. 113).

[48] Seville's Virgen de los Reyes was perhaps given to Fernando III by Louis IX. See Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 75–78.

[49] See the 1345 description of the tomb in Aguirre Aldaz, 'La primera escultura funeararia', p. 113.

[50] This finally took place in 1671. For the seventeenth-century view, see Amanda Wunder, 'Murillo and the Canonization Case of San Fernando, 1649–52', in *The Burlington Magazine*, 143 (2001), 670–75.

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